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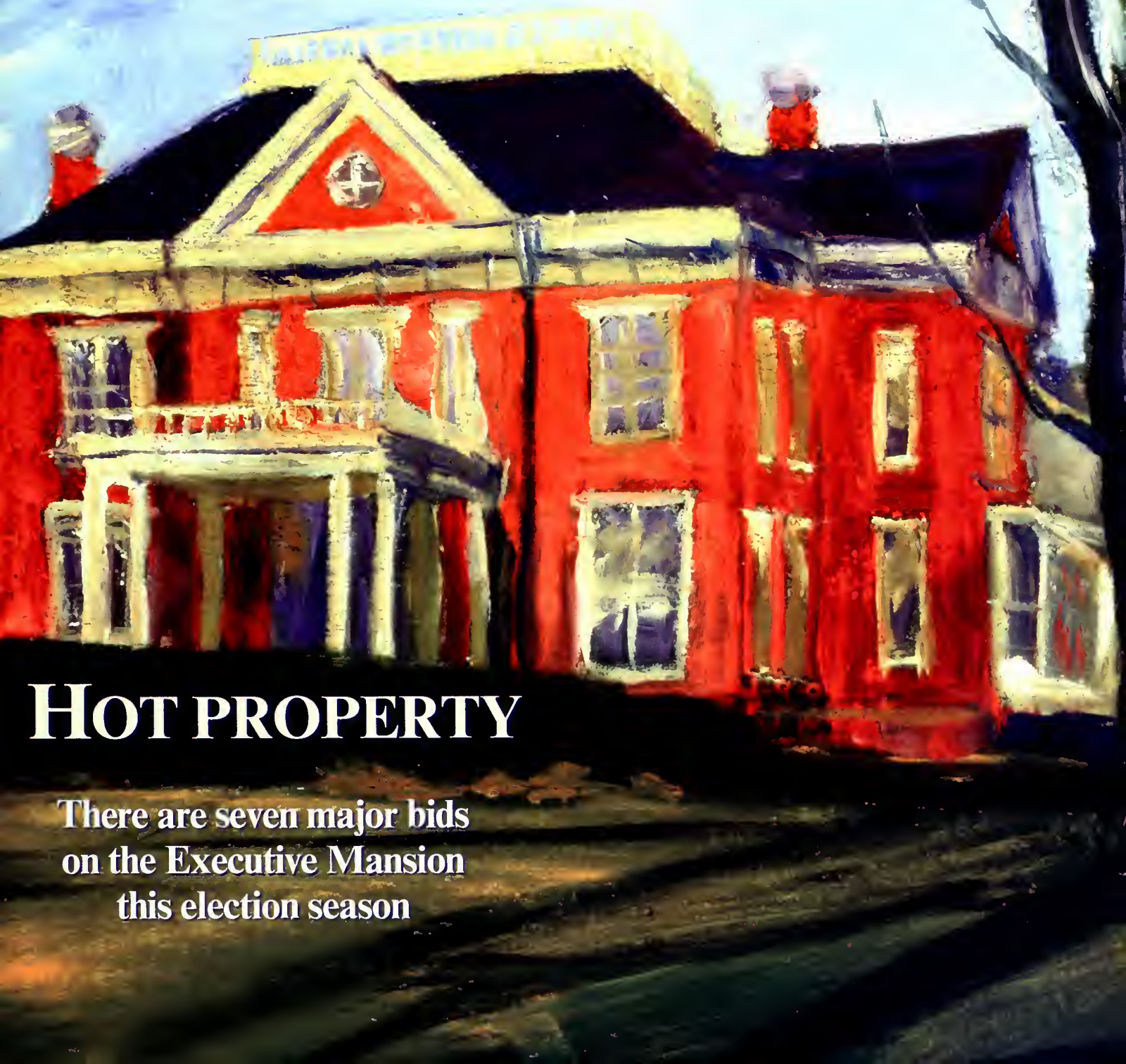
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So for you also to say that you value *Illinois Issues'* perspective on state government says everything. It means we are worth your time. I am honored to have carried this beacon of public trust handed to me by my predecessors, Bill Day and Mike Lennon. In the 1970s, they implemented a vision to establish an independent magazine devoted to covering Illinois government and politics.

It wasn't long before *Illinois Issues*

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"I believe in the patriotism and energy and initiative of the average man," Woodrow Wilson once said. So do I. That's why I have always been attracted to political processes.

More important is that I expect my departure to be only a minor distraction to you. *Illinois Issues* remains in good hands, eager to contribute to your understanding of a great state. □

Wojcicki left his position as Illinois Issues publisher on December 31. He is still at the University of Illinois at Springfield as the associate chancellor for constituent relations. His e-mail address remains wojcicki@uis.edu.

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Ed Wojcicki



Our usefulness stands the test of time

by Ed Wojcicki

A routine process becomes more significant when repeated 185 times. That's how often *Illinois Issues* has received requests to reprint articles since 1992, the year I became publisher. An average of 18 such requests a year tells me the magazine is consistently useful.

Now, as I leave the magazine, I can think of no greater compliment: What we publish makes a difference to an engaged community of readers.

I consider our readers a community because, for better or worse, you are together in a grand arena focusing on state government. I call you engaged because nearly 80 percent of you reported in a survey that you influence the policy-making or lawmaking processes in state government. You write letters. You make phone calls, and you find out what's happening. You contact officials, or you are the officials. Some of you lobby. A majority of you give money to campaigns.

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It wasn't long before *Illinois Issues*

became the state's leading public affairs magazine. It also became an *institution* with a community service mandate flowing from the mission of a state university. This allows us to co-sponsor the Motorola Award for Excellence in Public Service, to sponsor a Hall of Fame for former legislative interns and to lead citizen education projects on such topics as campaign finance and civic engagement.

I'm proud of my 10-year association with you. Nothing is better than mixing with people who want the same thing. We all want "a better Illinois," though I am quick to muse that we could never agree on what that means or how to get there. Such is the wonder of democracy. Such is the hope of engaged citizens who resist the impulse to become cynical.

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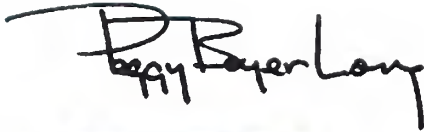
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Illinois Issues Online complements and enhances the printed magazine

by Peggy Boyer Long

Five years ago we started dreaming about producing an electronic edition of this magazine.

It seemed a long way from possible at the time. Like most everyone in the communications business, we were just beginning to navigate the Internet, and just beginning to construct a basic Web site. We had a lot to learn, a lot to accomplish. And there was no chance for additional dollars or staff to make it happen.

How far we've come.

Despite the hurdles, this fall we launched *Illinois Issues Online*. I encourage you to visit it. Log on at <http://illinoisissues.uis.edu>.

Our new site is still a work in progress, no doubt about it. But even this early effort offers more than mere highlights from the most recent issue of the magazine, something we've provided over the past several years. *Illinois Issues Online* is designed to complement and enhance our monthly printed edition, not simply replicate it.

We still have a long way to go, it's true. Yet, through the immediacy of this evolving electronic technology, we can now offer our regular readers, and a universe of potential readers, the latest information on important issues and people, the kind of news that naturally occurs between editions.

The site also offers an archive of special projects. And eventually it will make available all past issues of the magazine, searchable by key word. This is being made possible through the services of Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, which chose *Illinois Issues* as a test case in its grant-funded *Illinois Periodicals Online* project.

Our site now provides links to major resources for government information. It tells our electronic readers how they can subscribe to or advertise in the printed magazine. And it eases interactions with our staff.

None of this could have happened without the hard work of three people in particular. Our talented art director Diana Nelson taught herself from scratch, in the narrow margins of available free time, how to construct a Web site. We think the new look was worth the effort — and the down time on our old Web site.

Meanwhile, our special projects editor Maureen McKinney devoted considerable time to researching public affairs resource links. Beyond carrying out her responsibilities to the printed magazine, she updates the news and people sections on the Web site.

But the brains, and sometimes the

brawn, behind these advances was our publisher Ed Wojcicki. Ed left at the end of December to tackle other challenges on this campus, but his legacy to the magazine was his forward thinking in communications, his energetic focus on finding new ways to serve readers. An electronic edition of the magazine was his vision first.

"We're published by a university," he would say. "And that means we have a special obligation to experiment. We should be trying things because that's what universities do." Besides, he would add, our readers expect to be able to turn to us on the Web. A recent survey shows that nearly a quarter of our readers get information on the Internet every day. More are likely to do so in the future. And more readers who haven't yet discovered our printed edition may find us first on the Web.

This is our shared vision now. There's still untapped potential in this powerful technology. True to our public affairs mission, we could become more than a one-stop source for information about government and politics; we could become an interactive education tool on state policy questions.

Illinois Issues Online is up and running.

And we're still dreaming. □

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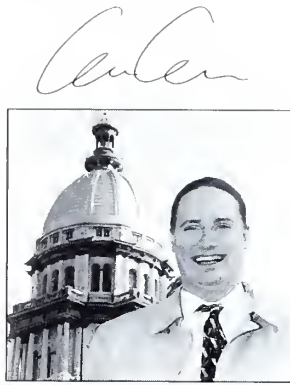
State faces more fiscal challenges.

Credits: Mike Cramer painted the Executive Mansion on this month's cover.

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It's safe to say, DNA tests have revolutionized criminal justice

by Aaron Chambers

Michael Daniels blamed the murder on his cousin. They both were dating Birgitte Andersen, who was found half naked and beaten in her Chicago apartment, and Daniels argued his cousin had a motive: jealousy.

The results of two blood tests were in conflict; one conducted by the Chicago Police Department on a vaginal swab pointed to Daniels, while one conducted on the woman's underwear pointed to the cousin. The Federal Bureau of Investigation also tested the swab and panties, this time for DNA. The result: The swab test was inconclusive, but the sample taken from the underwear matched Daniels' genetic material. He was convicted of murder and aggravated criminal sexual assault.

That 1989 case was the beginning of the growing use of DNA tests in Illinois courtrooms.

As it happens, Daniels appealed, arguing his trial attorney wasn't prepared to fight the DNA evidence. He contended he was denied due process and that he received ineffective counsel based on his attorney's failure to competently challenge that evidence. But the appellate court responded that his conviction likely would have stood without the DNA evidence.

In fact, Daniels had given police a

This relatively new technology is playing an increasingly important role in the courtroom, and Illinois has been at the forefront of that trend.

detailed statement implicating himself in the crime. The defense attorney's failure to vigorously challenge the reliability of the DNA evidence, the court ruled, "was not a significant factor in Daniels' conviction."

Still, that case is believed to have been the first where an Illinois trial judge permitted prosecutors to present DNA evidence against the accused. And Illinois prosecutors point to that case as the first time DNA helped them win a conviction.

It's safe to say, DNA tests have revolutionized criminal justice. In the decade that followed the Daniels trial, DNA tests became commonplace in the courtroom. Methods for collecting the material grew more advanced, as did testing techniques. But after some recent high-profile cases involving DNA, it's likely the debate over use of the technology will heat up again.

"Assuming that the proper standards and protocols are followed, it's

absolutely definitive, there's no fudging about it," says Richard Kling, a criminal defense attorney and forensic science professor at the Chicago-Kent College of Law. "It tells you with absolute certainty that somebody is or is not responsible for leaving the sample."

Unlike blood testing, or even fingerprinting, DNA testing is considered an exact science. With the exception of identical twins, who share DNA, no two people have the same genetic blueprint. A DNA sample either belongs to the subject or it does not.

DNA, or deoxyribonucleic acid, is material in the nucleus of cells that stores the genetic code of humans that is inherited from both biological parents. It determines personal characteristics, such as eye and hair color, height and bone structure. It's found in blood, hair, saliva, skin tissue, semen and bone.

Investigators use two basic types of DNA tests, depending on the evidence available. Restriction fragment length polymorphism testing usually requires larger cell samples and has not been widely used since the late 1990s. Polymerase chain reaction testing can be done on smaller cell samples and has been popular since that time. Today, the most common type of DNA testing is the short tandem repeat, which also enables investigators to use extremely small samples. Through the use of chemicals, forensic scientists can get the DNA to copy itself, much as it does when cells divide, until there is enough DNA to work with.

As a result, this relatively new technology is playing an increasingly important role in the courtroom, and Illinois has been at the forefront of that trend. In 1997, then-Gov. Jim Edgar signed into law a procedure enabling prisoners to seek DNA testing that wasn't available at the time of trial. That made Illinois the second state, after New York, to put a post-conviction DNA testing law on the books.

State officials are still promoting use of the technology. Gov. George Ryan and lawmakers included money in this fiscal year's budget for the State Police,

which processes DNA requests for local law enforcement agencies, to hire 85 additional forensic scientists and evidence technicians, according to Capt. Dave Sanders, a department spokesman. He says the budget also includes funds to outsource some of the agency's testing.

Further, this state is part of a national trend toward requiring felons to submit DNA samples to state databases, where they can be compared with genetic material taken from crime scenes. Under a law that took effect two years ago this month, Illinois greatly expanded the classes of criminal offenders who must submit samples to the State Police for its database.

"There is a significant trend to extend [DNA testing and typing] to all felons," says Donna Lyons, criminal justice program director at the National Conference of State Legislatures. "We have noted a number of states moving to expand testing to more and more offenders. That's happened over the last couple of years." According to the conference, at least 15 states, not including Illinois, require all felons to submit DNA tests for tracking.

But some practitioners believe this state isn't adapting its laws quickly enough, or devoting enough resources to collecting and tracking DNA from felons and crime scenes. Recent news reports strengthen their case.

Last month, the Cook County state's attorney's office dropped charges against four men imprisoned for the 1987 Chicago rape and murder of Lori Roscetti, a 23-year-old medical student, after DNA tests pointed away from the men. Bernard Murray, the office's chief of criminal prosecutions, says the Roscetti case should motivate lawmakers to invest additional resources in collecting and typing more Illinois inmates. "Where are those guys [who murdered her]?" he asks. "Are they already in [state prison] and have never been typed?"

Murray argues Illinois needs to spend more money on collecting and processing DNA samples. For example, he suggests old rape kits should be tested, in cases where the statute of limitations has not expired. He also wants the testing law expanded to cover more

classes of inmates. With the change in state law two years ago, forcible felons will be tested. But the law gives the State Police until July 2003 to begin collecting those samples.

"Frankly, it seems like individual states, and Illinois is one of them, have not committed a lot of money to it," Murray says. "When DNA is collected from a crime scene, whether it's unsolved or the guy is caught on the scene, unless we put a special rush on it, that DNA doesn't get worked up for months."

Sanders, the State Police spokesman, acknowledges that it takes the department's analysts eight to 10 months to process most DNA requests. However, he says cases are handled on an expedited basis when the tests are needed for trial or when police are holding a suspect in custody.

Karen Kucharik, assistant laboratory director at the State Police forensic science lab in Springfield, says the backlog largely is due to DNA having become a popular law enforcement tool. "The public knows about DNA and law enforcement realizes its usefulness, especially with the short tandem repeat technology, which is what we routinely use now," she says.

Sanders says that with the additional funds in the fiscal year 2002 budget, "There is a plan to have the backlog cleared up by mid-2004."

A year before Daniels went to trial, a defense attorney was working to get DNA testing for another man who claimed to be innocent. In this case, though, the defendant would prevail.

Gary Dotson had been convicted of the rape of a Chicago woman, but the woman recanted her testimony, saying she fabricated the story to cover up a legitimate sexual encounter with her boyfriend. Dotson sought his release, saying the new statement constituted sufficient grounds to vacate his sentence. Then-Gov. Jim Thompson refused to pardon Dotson, saying he didn't believe the recantation. He did commute Dotson's sentence, though, to time served, pending good behavior. Thompson later revoked Dotson's parole after Dotson assaulted his wife and was arrested during a bar fight.

What made that case interesting is that a DNA test later showed semen on the woman's underwear could not have come from Dotson, but could have come from her boyfriend. The Cook County Circuit Court overturned Dotson's conviction in 1989, after he had served eight years in prison.

"There's no question that DNA is a great tool for the prosecution, but because of the fact that it exposes the fallibility of our system and so many innocent people have been freed on the defense side, I think it's just wonderful," says State Appellate Defender Theodore Gottfried. "We should be interested in getting the right person, not just convicting."

The genetic material, when it can be found and traced, has been used countless times to convict and, in some cases, exonerate.

Indeed, a legal service formed in New York in 1992 by lawyers Barry Scheck and Peter Neufeld to help prisoners use DNA to pursue claims of innocence now has chapters across the country, including at Northwestern University and the University of Illinois at Springfield. (The Illinois groups are exploring other means of proving innocence.)

Not everybody is excited about expanded use of DNA, though, particularly in databases. Some defense attorneys are worried they won't get easy access to the information. And the American Civil Liberties Union, which generally objects to the government's gathering of large databases of personal information, is uncomfortable with what the group calls the broadening collection of DNA.

If a sample is collected for one purpose but is used for other purposes, says Ed Yohnka, communications director for the ACLU's Illinois affiliate, a number of questions are raised: "Who has access to those samples, how long are they kept and what regulations or rules are put in place before the samples are collected, not afterwards, when we figure out what some alternative uses for the samples might be?"

One thing all the players can agree on: The criminal justice system has not even begun to realize the potential of DNA technology. □

BRIEFLY

Cranes, planes and humans

Whoopers land in Florida

"October 24th: Last night we had rain, wind and hail the size of mothballs. Today we have thunderstorms, lightning and colder temperatures. Tomorrow we are told to expect high winds and tornado warnings. All we are missing is an earthquake, a tidal wave and anything that remotely resembles luck."

As Joe Duff's field report — written one week into a seven-week trip — indicates, it's not easy to save a species.

But Duff and his fellow Operation Migration ultralight pilots and ground crew managed to lead six young hand-reared whooping cranes on a 1,200-mile journey from a refuge in Wisconsin to new wintering grounds in Florida, a trip that included a portion of Illinois. Despite rough weather, the birds and their human guides landed safely last month, marking an important step in establishing an eastern states whooping crane migratory path (see *Illinois Issues*, November 2000, page 9 and July/August 2001, page 8).

The whooper, once abundant in the Midwest, was placed on the federal



Whooping cranes and their human guide fly over the Crystal River Mall in Florida before landing at their winter home in the Chassahowitzka National Wildlife Refuge.

endangered species list in 1967. Of about 400 individuals left, fewer than half are wild migrating cranes, and all of those are members of one flock that winters on the Texas Gulf Coast, where hurricanes and oil spills pose a threat.

This fall's trip represents the culmination of experiments conducted over a dozen years with other bird species. Last year, Operation Migration successfully led 13 sandhill cranes, an abundant cousin of the whooper, on a new migratory route to a winter refuge in Florida. In the spring, those cranes made their way back to their home in the Necedah National Wildlife Refuge in central Wisconsin.

If these seven whooping cranes (one was "rebellious" and kept leaving

the pack, so he made the trip in a truck) also return to their fledgling grounds, they will have taken a step on the road to recovery. In fact, it will be the first time in more than a century this rarest of cranes will have flown over the eastern United States on its own.

But that's only a beginning. The group hopes to repeat the process through five generations of whooping cranes to establish a migrating flock of at least 100 whoopers, giving the species a better shot at survival.

Operation Migration is a co-founder of the Whooping Crane Eastern Partnership, a coalition of nonprofit organizations and government agencies that is part of a U.S./Canadian effort.

Beverley Scobell

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PLANS TO FILL THE TEACHER GAP

More than 100 education leaders will return to Springfield on the 28th to finish a tough assignment: Suggest ways the state, with few extra dollars to spend, can help public schools recruit good teachers and ease the burnout that pushes many to flee the field early. "I want you to be bold and imaginative and innovative," Gov. George Ryan told the delegates in November at the first session of his education summit. The group is scheduled this month to hammer out specific recommendations for Ryan's final budget. One challenge is clear: Illinois faces a growing shortage of elementary and secondary teachers (see *Illinois Issues*, February 2001, page 29).

At the beginning of the 2000-2001 school year, 2,637 teaching positions went unfilled in Illinois, half of those in Chicago. That was nearly twice as many openings as in the previous five years. Indeed, attracting and keeping new teachers has become increasingly difficult. Many new graduates leave the state or end up taking nonteaching jobs. Illinois awarded teaching certificates to about 13,000 candidates in each of the past four years, but only about half of those certified last year now work in this state as public school teachers.

If current trends hold, says Hazel Loucks, Ryan's deputy governor for education, many of these teachers won't stick with it. Salaries and working conditions, which can make teachers feel unappreciated, isolated and overwhelmed, are cited as major reasons why a third of Illinois' new teachers leave the profession within the first three to five years. The shortage of experienced teachers is most common in such academic areas as math, science and special education. But the problems are more severe in districts serving large numbers of disadvantaged children, the students who most need talented teachers.

Summit delegates identified as top priorities higher salaries in relation to other professions, higher pay rates for teachers in shortage areas and programs that promote mentorship and professional development. State funding would play a major role in these initiatives, though precise costs haven't been identified. Many delegates would like to see the state create and help finance shorter programs for professionals from other fields who want to switch careers and become certified teachers. Some programs take as long as two years to complete, and there aren't many outside the Chicago area.

As a way to improve teacher quality, the delegates want colleges and universities to focus more on training in academic subjects while not abandoning classes on instructional techniques for prospective teachers. The Illinois State Board of Education already has begun to carry out this goal by setting in motion more rigorous requirements for teacher training programs. And delegates want higher education to use special exams to weed out weak students earlier. Many training programs do this now or they use tests to find students who need extra attention, but the legislature could choose to require that for all programs.

The state's precarious financial status likely will put any major initiatives on hold for now, says Loucks, but there's still a lot for policy-makers to discuss and refine this month.

For more information, go to www.isbe.net/summit.

Dean Olsen
Statehouse bureau
Copley Illinois Newspapers

Governor and mayor seal agreement on airports

They made a deal. After four months of negotiations, Gov. George Ryan and Chicago Mayor Richard Daley agreed to expand O'Hare International Airport, build a third airport in far south suburban Peotone and keep Meigs Field, the tiny airport on the city's lakefront, open for at least five more years.

Under the agreement, O'Hare's seven runways would be reconfigured to permit more planes to land simultaneously, and a new runway would be added at the airport's south end. The airport's capacity would nearly double to 1.6 million flights a year. There were 908,000 in 2000.

The plan is estimated to cost more than \$6 billion.

Daley, who has opposed building a new airport in Peotone for fear that it would cut into O'Hare's share, agreed to work with Ryan to seek federal funds for that project. In return, Daley agreed to permit Meigs, which he wanted to bulldoze and replace with a park, to remain open. Under the agreement, Meigs could stay open for 25 years, with the caveat that as early as 2006, the General Assembly can vote to close it.

"This was a whole compromise package," Ryan said in December after a lengthy meeting with Daley. "We needed to solve the [capacity] problems for travel for the United States, frankly; it was a national problem. We needed to fix O'Hare field, and everybody realized and agreed to that."

Hurdles remain. In early December, the governor and the mayor were waiting for Congress to ratify the deal and lock it into federal legislation so that future legislatures and governors can't alter it. But there's dissension in the state's congressional delegation. U.S. Sen. Dick Durbin, a Springfield Democrat, wanted to attach the airport plan to an unrelated bill. U.S. Sen. Peter Fitzgerald, an Inverness Republican who opposes O'Hare expansion, quashed the move.

Meanwhile, other opponents, including a coalition of suburbs surrounding O'Hare, were vowing to challenge the agreement in court.

Ryan, who promised during his 1998 campaign not to expand O'Hare, initially opposed the new southern runway. Besides helping to increase capacity at the airport, building the new runway will require razing several hundred homes in neighboring Bensenville. Ryan said he changed his mind after speaking with air traffic controllers at O'Hare. "They told me that the southern runway was pretty vital for safety," he said. "So after I heard that, and the mayor expressed concern about wanting it, I said, 'Let's go.'"

Campaign promises aside, the airport agreement fortified Ryan's legacy as a pre-eminent dealmaker who, among other accomplishments, maneuvered a \$12 billion public works project through the legislature during the first year of his term.

The day after returning from his meeting with Daley in Chicago, the governor appeared exhausted. "I'm tired today, frankly. I didn't get home until midnight."

Aaron Chambers

Where the academic rubber meets the road

What role should intellectuals play in public life?

Cultural critic Phillip Brian Harper, a New York University English professor known for his work in African-American and gay studies, will examine that question at a free public lecture on the 29th at the campus of the University of Illinois at Chicago.

Harper's talk kicks off a series of lectures on public intellectuals and their social sphere, which is linked to a UIC course on that topic and an on-campus conference April 19 and 20. Course instructor Stanley Fish, Dean of the UIC College of Arts and Sciences and a critical and political theorist himself, refuses to define what a public intellectual is, saying that arriving at a definition is what the class, lecture series and conference are about. But, he says, "A low-level definition is someone who is engaged at a high level, yet speaks to a larger audience than academics."

Making the jump from thought to action is often problematic. "There has always been a fascination and suspicion of the academy," says Fish.

The Chicago-based Center for Public Intellectuals is co-sponsoring the program. Center co-founder Cary Nathenson says the conference will convene local as well as nationally known thinkers and community activists to discuss who an intellectual is and how their work can be made useful, particularly in the areas of public policy. He says the conference will blur the lines between thinkers and activists. "This is definitely beyond a bunch of academics meeting in a conference room and talking about something that is only of interest to them."

Author Barbara Ehrenreich and Stanford philosopher Richard Rorty also will take part in the series. Information on the lectures and the conference will be posted on the center's Web site at www.publicintellectuals.org.

Rodd Whelpley

HIGH COURT RULES The Democratic map stands

House Minority Leader Lee Daniels was furious as he left the floor to meet with Republican colleagues shortly after learning that the Illinois Supreme Court upheld a new legislative map drawn by Democrats.

When asked whether politics had influenced the court, which split along party lines in its decision, Daniels, recently chosen state GOP chairman, fumed: "I don't think there's any question that [politics] exists in the Illinois Supreme Court today ... in its worst form."

Other legal challenges remained, but the November decision was particularly devastating for Republicans because it addressed the validity of the map as a whole. The eight other House cases before the court focused on individual districts.

The map was designed to give Democrats an upper hand in state House and Senate races for the next 10 years. Political cartographers can maximize their party's influence by drawing districts that favor their party while minimizing wasted votes. And that's exactly what they did.

Take, for example, the district that includes the central Illinois town of Urbana, a liberal enclave currently represented by two Republicans in the House and the second-most-powerful Republican in the Senate. When the GOP drew the map in 1991, it sliced Urbana in two to dilute Democratic votes. Under the new map, Urbana remains intact and is coupled with Champaign to form a single House district that favors Democrats. The mapmakers then paired that district with another that includes Danville, to make a winnable Senate district for Democrats. (Each Senate district is comprised of two House districts.)

In northern Illinois, the bulk of Aurora, the state's third-largest city, was split into three districts by Republicans 10 years ago. The city has a slight Republican tilt to it, but it also has a rapidly expanding Hispanic population

that helps make it one of the fastest-growing cities in Illinois. This year, Democrats drew two districts that include most of the city — one encompassing the center of the city and another that is built around the sprawling Route 59 corridor where Aurora and Naperville meet. Democrats could win the central district.

Farther north, one Senate district that drew a lot of fire from Republicans stretches from Lake Bluff down Lake Michigan to Glencoe then plunges inland to Des Plaines and Mount Prospect. Under this Democrat-drawn district, the northern House district favors Democrats while the southern House district is slightly Republican. Pairing the two gives an edge to Democrats for the Senate seat. GOP lawyers asked the high court to realign the House districts in the area to form different Senate districts.

The reshuffling the Republicans proposed would have "packed" Democratic votes together for a lakefront seat and realigned three other districts, which would lean Republican. Under the Democratic map, two of those four would favor Democrats.

Before the high court, Republicans couched their proposals in terms of "compactness" because the Illinois Constitution requires districts to be "compact, contiguous and substantially equal in population."

But the Democratic majority on the court, in an opinion written by Chief Justice Moses Harrison 11, held that Republicans placed too much emphasis on the compactness requirement, without showing how their plan would meet the other mandates.

Justice Rita Garman, a Republican, called the majority opinion a "death knell" for the compactness requirement.

Besides their challenges to other individual districts pending before the state's high court, Republicans have filed complaints in a Rockford federal court. They face an uphill battle on the legal front, but Daniels and members of his party know they will be in for some tough political fights if they don't prevail in the courts.

*Daniel C. Vock
Statehouse bureau
Chicago Daily Law Bulletin*

HIGH ALERT

State government steps up security

The Illinois Capitol may never be the same. The building that had been wide open to lawmakers, state officials and citizens is now on alert.

Secretary of state police officers, armed with sidearms and the power of arrest, guard the Capitol's entrances during the day and patrol its perimeter around the clock. They installed concrete barriers to regulate traffic at each end of the driveway to the building's main entrance. And they're limiting access to the building, with the exception of children in school groups, to those with proper identification: color-coded badges for employees and state identification for visitors.

Welcome to the post-September 11 reality. In the months following the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, state officials moved to protect the Capitol, where Gov. George Ryan and lawmakers come to work.

"We've taken a stance on security that's not too intrusive, not displaying an armed camp mentality," says Robert Howlett, director of the secretary of state police. "I think it's very effective, and we're probably at a good level for the Capitol building."

The department implemented similar controls at the neighboring Stratton Building, where representatives and staff have offices, and the Howlett Building, the secretary of state's administrative headquarters.

Across the street, the Illinois Supreme Court installed an airport-style metal detector and an X-ray machine. Access is limited to one of the court's two public entrances, where guards check visitors and their belongings.

Secretary of State Jesse White wants to add metal detectors at the Statehouse, too, "but there has not been agreement among the General Assembly and all the constitutional officers as to whether or not that's

necessary, so we're not going to implement anything like that at this time," says White spokesman Randy Nehrt.

In Chicago, the Department of Central Management Services beefed up security at the James R. Thompson Center. The agency hired extra guards so that its own police officers can tend to greater security needs at the state building.

Meanwhile, House Speaker Michael Madigan tightened control over his chamber. Visitors must now sign in before entering the public gallery. Legislative liaisons are banned from the House floor. And only a limited number of legislative staff and reporters are permitted in the chamber.

The Chicago Democrat initially insisted that the change was necessary to protect the House, but later all but admitted the move was designed simply to impose order on the chamber, where behavior is traditionally more rambunctious than in the Senate.

Aaron Chambers

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The publisher is also Director of Institute Publications in the Institute for Public Affairs at the University of Illinois at Springfield.

As we went to press, details of the search had not been finalized. To receive information about the search when it becomes available, contact:

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Legislative action

Illinois may soon be better prepared to fight terrorism. That's according to Attorney General Jim Ryan, who successfully pushed his anti-terrorism package through the General Assembly during the fall veto session.

The package, which was widely criticized but received almost unanimous support from lawmakers, would create several new crimes, give law enforcement officials more room to seize assets and records allegedly associated with terrorist activity, and enhance their investigatory powers.

"The attorney general felt very strongly that we needed to involve local and state law enforcement officials in the fight against terrorism, and to enable those individuals to participate in an effective manner," says John Farrell, deputy attorney general for criminal justice. "There

was a need for relegislating some of the current investigative statutes. And, of course, there's also the need to complement federal prosecution."

The attorney general's proposal would create the offense of terrorism, defining a terrorist as "any person who engages or is about to engage in a terrorist act with the intent to intimidate or coerce a significant portion of a civilian population." The offense would be punishable by 20 years to natural life in prison, with mandatory natural life when the terrorist act causes death. Under one of the bill's more controversial provisions, terrorists who murder would be eligible for the death penalty (see *Illinois Issues*, October 2001, page 30).

Among other provisions, the proposal would permit police officers investigating terrorism to apply for a search warrant over the phone, rather than in writing. The bill would permit the attorney general to seize and

inspect records of organizations that allegedly use charitable assets to further terrorism. Prosecutors also could seize assets allegedly being used to further terrorism.

Critics of the package, including the American Civil Liberties Union, suggested the bill would unnecessarily duplicate federal law and encourage law enforcement officials to violate citizens' personal liberties. But in the end, the Senate voted 55 to 0 to approve the bill, with one member voting present; the House voted 106 to 1, with seven members voting present.

Gov. George Ryan said in early December he had not decided whether to approve the bill, but when asked whether he thinks the proposed measures are necessary, he responded: "If we can improve homeland security, we ought to do it. There isn't any question about it."

Meanwhile, the governor established a board to develop a strategy

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Stay curious

to integrate criminal justice information in this state. He said the terrorist attacks in September heightened his resolve to improve law enforcement information and intelligence systems. The board was charged with reporting to the governor and the General Assembly.

Other highlights of the veto session:

- The governor imposed a series of spending cuts in an effort to fill a \$500 million hole in the \$53 billion state budget. Among the cost-saving measures, he ordered 60,000 state workers under his authority to take an unpaid furlough day and trimmed health services for the poor. As of early December, the cuts totaled \$485 million.
- The legislature moved to bail out the Teachers Retirement Insurance Program, averting the need to raise premiums by more than 80 percent for more than

41,000 downstate retirees. Under legislation that passed both chambers, school districts and active teachers would pay more toward the cost of health insurance for retired teachers and their survivors. Retirees aren't entirely off the hook. In succeeding years, they would pay greater premiums, deductibles and co-payments. Gov. Ryan signed the measure in late December.

- House Speaker Michael Madigan, a Chicago Democrat, decided not to try to revive a measure to make offenders who murder in the name of gang activity eligible for the death penalty (see *Illinois Issues*, October 2001, page 30). The governor had vetoed the bill, so it's dead.
- Lawmakers declined to act on a bill the governor modified to push gay rights (see *Illinois*

Issues, September 2001, page 8). As it passed the legislature last spring, the measure would have prohibited discrimination against motorcyclists by restricting their access to public places. The governor added references to sexual orientation, thereby protecting gays and lesbians from discrimination, and returned it to lawmakers. The entire bill is dead.

- Lawmakers overrode the governor's veto of a bill to prohibit television, radio and cable stations from barring former employees from working in a specific geographic location for a certain period of time. Under so-called no-compete clauses, stations could prevent former employees from going to work for nearby competitors.

The General Assembly returns to the Capitol this month to launch their spring session. *Aaron Chambers*

Democracy & Ethics

Jane Addams

Democracy and Social Ethics

Democracy and Social Ethics

JANE ADDAMS

Introduction by Charlene Haddock Seigfried

Addams believed that each member of a democracy is under a moral obligation to make a daily effort to confront others' perspectives. Morality must be seen as a social rather than an individual endeavor, and democracy as a way of life rather than merely a basis for laws. Failing this, both democracy and ethics remain sterile, empty concepts.

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Growing Up with a City

LOUISE DE KOVEN BOWEN

Introduction by Maureen A. Flanagan

The memoir that lets us see how women made a difference in Chicago. Louise de Koven Bowen was instrumental in creating a separate juvenile court and Chicago's Juvenile Protection Association. She was serving as president of the Chicago Equal Suffrage Association when the Illinois legislature gave women of the state the vote in local and federal elections. This reissue features a substantial introduction by historian Maureen Flanagan.

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SOUTHERN BAD BOYS

It's no secret Americans love their outlaws. In his new book, *Brothers Notorious: the Sheltons*, Taylor Pensoneau, a former reporter for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, acknowledges that those who crave a good tale about misfits will have a feast in the Sheltons. But his purpose, too, is to tell us something about southern Illinois culture. This is the story of how one family became the downstate equivalent of the Chicago Capone gang. But it's also the story of those caught in the Sheltons' wake.

The three brothers most commonly associated with the Shelton gang, which operated from their home bases in Herrin, East St. Louis and Peoria, were Carl, Earl and Bernie. Carl and Bernie met their deaths at the ends of assassins' guns in the 1940s and Earl was forced to leave Illinois for Florida in 1951. Yet, to this day, the Sheltons are regarded by many in southern Illinois as legends. They were that region's renegades.

The very American story of the Sheltons, Pensoneau argues, is tied to "the landscape in a unique country where people really have an opportunity to grow up to become what they want to be."

What the Sheltons wanted to be was rich. At the height of their power in the early 1930s, they were netting between \$1.5 and \$2 million each year, not including the income they had from running a bootlegging operation large enough to keep Al Capone at a respectful distance.

In fact, the U.S. Senate's Kefauver Committee, formed in 1950 to investigate organized crime, stated in its official findings that the Sheltons, who controlled all bootlegging and illegal gambling in Illinois outside Cook County during the 1920s, perpetrated a "bloodiness" not seen before or since in U.S. history.

Sensationalism is one reason for the brothers' legendary status. They bribed public officials, they waged war against the Ku Klux Klan and they defended their turf against rival gangster Charlie Birger.

There seemed to be no middle ground for the brothers. Theirs is a story of iniquity and kindness. In 1931, while Carl Shelton was being held in Danville on charges of auto theft, two of his fellow inmates began to beat a guard in an attempt to escape. Carl turned on them, saved the guard and called a doctor.



Brothers Notorious was published last fall by Downstate Publications in New Berlin.

Yet Carl also was known to carry a .44 caliber revolver everywhere he went, and in 1924 he was awarded, with his brothers, \$600 of an \$1800 bounty on Klan leader Glenn Young by members of the East St. Louis community. The Sheltons allegedly made an attempt on Young's life.

Though they failed, East St. Louis thought they deserved something for their efforts.

These brothers, who were callous enough to bring a gunfight reminiscent of the Old West to Herrin, also were sentimental enough to cry on one another's shoulders upon entering the gates of Leavenworth.

Perhaps the greatest twist in the Sheltons' saga is that the brothers who made their lives out of lawlessness demanded that the law give the family justice in finding the assassins of Carl, and later of Bernie. As in so many of the cases brought against the brothers, the law failed to convict anyone of either of the murders.

And no one came to the family's aid. The culture that had watched the Sheltons grow into the largest mob outside of Cook County also watched them die. Earl lost another brother, a sister and a brother-in-law before the killing stopped with his departure.

Among the most violent men in Illinois history, the Sheltons continue to fascinate, for the audacity of their lives, and for the extremes at which they lived.

Ryan Reeves

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Hot property

There are seven major bids on the Executive Mansion this election season

This month, *Illinois Issues* provides information on the race for governor. For more details about the Republicans and Democrats who are running in the March 19 primary, log on to their Web sites.

www.omalleyforgov.com
www.jimryanforgovernor.com
www.corrinewood.com
www.bakalis2002.com
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www.paulvallas.com

In the rest of this issue, we examine the primary races for attorney general and the U.S. Senate. (This issue went to press before the December 24th deadline to challenge candidates' petitions.)

Next month, we'll look at the primary campaigns for the legislature and Congress.

The Editors

THE REPUBLICANS

A three-way primary contest for governor could turn out to be a "jump ball" for the party. Yet it will give voters something they don't always get: a real choice

by Dave McKinney
Illustrations by Mike Cramer

Two days after Thanksgiving, newly installed state GOP Chairman Lee Daniels gathered Gov. George Ryan and other top Republicans for sandwiches at the DuPage Airport. The disheveled state of the Republican ticket was the day's topic. But the chief concern during that two-hour, high-powered summit was clearing the field for Attorney General Jim Ryan.

Some thought Lt. Gov. Corinne Wood, trailing badly in early polls on the governor's race, might be

convinced to step aside, perhaps opt for attorney general or reprise her current role. It would be the governor's duty, as the state's top elected Republican, to convince his protégé.

So the governor invited Wood to the Executive Mansion, along with her two key supporters, National Republican Committeeman Robert Kjellander and Greg Baise, president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, both among those encouraging Wood to rethink her options.

As the governor's chefs put the finishing touches on a lunch of beef stroganoff and pecan pie, the group gathered in the elegant dining room. There was no small talk. "Everybody knows why we're here," the governor told Wood between sips of his bloody mary. "You know, we met over the weekend, and we've got to have a unified ticket, so we decided that you should consider running for lieutenant governor with Jim Ryan."

Hearing that message from the man

who had elevated her from relative obscurity in the Illinois House prompted two defiant words from Wood. "Oh, really?" she said, struck by the governor's use of the words "we decided" when he had vowed neutrality in the race. As the governor's servants came and left, Wood listened, drinking occasionally from her own virgin mary. The only interruptions were the cell phone calls the governor had to take about a looming O'Hare International Airport expansion deal with Chicago Mayor Richard Daley and the impending state budget cuts.

"You could be involved with Republican politics for a long time," Ryan told her. "We want you to make sure you know what the risks are. If you lose this primary, it's over. You have no future."

The outcome of this meeting is well known. The lieutenant governor mulled it over, and by the end of the day gave the governor, in her words, "a polite 'No, thank you.'" In doing so, she left intact one of the most intriguing story lines of the still-young 2002 campaign season. Wood, Jim Ryan, the two-term attorney general,

and state Sen. Patrick O'Malley, the conservative firebrand from Palos Park, are locked in a political fight this state rarely sees.

The unpredictability of such a three-way race is why the GOP brass wanted the field cleared. Any number of unforeseen factors over the next 10 weeks could tilt the percentages away from the early favorite, rendering initial polls almost meaningless.

That's why, historically, the Republican establishment settles on its candidate for governor, avoiding a cash-draining and divisive primary. But this time, strive as it might for unity, the GOP is a balkanized mess at the top of the ticket.

"I've never seen anything like this in my 23 years," says Treasurer Judy Baar Topinka, a Republican who is seeking re-election and has endorsed Jim Ryan's gubernatorial bid. "Anybody can win, depending on what the dynamics are at any given time."

In fact, this campaign marks the first time two sitting constitutional officers have battled one other in a gubernatorial primary since 1976, when Secretary of State Michael Howlett defeated Gov. Dan Walker in the Democratic primary. Howlett later lost to James Thompson, triggering the GOP's quarter-century lock on the governorship. Among Republicans, the last time two constitutional officers opposed one another was in 1928, when Secretary of State Louis Lincoln Emmerson unseated incumbent Gov. Len Small.

Furthermore, it has been 50 years since three sitting officeholders at any level last competed in a Republican gubernatorial primary. In that race, Treasurer William Stratton faced Cook County Board President William Erickson and Park Livingston, chairman of the University of Illinois board of trustees. Two other former officeholders, ex-Secretary of State Richard Yates Rowe and former U.S. Rep. James Simpson, rounded out that primary, which Stratton won on his way to two terms in the Executive Mansion.

Though all three candidates hail from Chicago's suburbs, this year's GOP primary campaign for governor

is about anything but unity. More to the point, it poses an ideological test that threatens to fracture the Republican Party, a contest between conservatism and moderation. Yet it will give voters something they don't always get: a real choice.

Among the top issues are George Ryan's unpopularity and broken campaign pledges, the bipartisan airport deal he forged, the party's never-ending tug of war over abortion and the state's worsening economy.

In early polling, Jim Ryan was the clear front-runner over Wood and O'Malley, topping out at more than 50 percent support and posting a lead of 35 percentage points over Wood in a *Chicago Tribune* poll taken last fall. He is well recognized because of his two terms as attorney general. Still, Ryan says he doesn't take his opponents lightly. "They're both millionaires and working hard."

His string of personal tragedies appears to have struck a chord with voters, too. In November, he was diagnosed with his third bout of cancer in five years. A growth behind his right ear was removed and was determined to be a form of lymphoma, though less aggressive than his earlier lymphomas. His doctors say his condition is "highly treatable" and won't limit his campaign schedule. In 1997, Ryan lost his 12-year-old daughter, Anne Marie, to an undetected noncancerous tumor at the base of her head and faced the near-death of his wife, Marie, to a heart attack. "People know of the problems I've had and my family has had over the years," Ryan says. "I'm not looking for sympathy from anyone. I hope people respect me. I think I have a strong record."

Ryan, who is from Elmhurst, was elected attorney general in 1994 after serving three terms as DuPage County state's attorney. In that post, he presided over much of the prosecution of Rolando Cruz and Alejandro Hernandez, who were convicted and sentenced to death for the 1983 murder of Jeanine Nicarico. Both men later were cleared of the crime, providing important fuel to Gov.



Corinne Wood

Ryan's moratorium on state executions. Jim Ryan, who supports the moratorium, was not implicated in wrongdoing. Nevertheless, the issue could haunt him politically because of questions about whether his office withheld information from the State Police in 1985 that suggested another man — Brian Dugan — had killed the girl rather than Cruz and Hernandez, who had both been sent to Death Row.

After losing a 1990 bid against Democrat Roland Burris to become the state's top law enforcement official, Ryan was successful in his second try four years later. Not long after taking office, he established a willingness to buck powerful forces within his own party. In 1995, he blocked Treasurer Judy Baar Topinka's plan to settle more than \$40 million in bad state loans for \$10 million. The state loans in question had been given to powerful Republican fundraiser William Cellini and bipartisan donor Gary Fears to develop hotels in Springfield and Collinsville in the early 1980s. But after a lengthy period of skipped loan repayments, Topinka argued the investors should be allowed to pay what she believed the hotels were really worth. Ryan halted that agreement, producing estimates by the University of Illinois that valued the hotels at closer to \$20 million. The hotels remain in operation, but the state has yet to be repaid.

In Ryan's second term, he followed the lead of other states by joining a landmark lawsuit against the tobacco industry, winning a \$9.1 billion settlement for the state that has helped fund property tax rebates and a series of public health initiatives. Ryan has faced criticism, however, for his handling of legal fees in that case. One of the outside law firms he hired was Freeborn & Peters, where Ryan pal Fred Foreman is a partner. The attorney general initially agreed to pay Freeborn & Peters and other outside lawyers representing the state 10 percent of whatever Illinois got in the lawsuit, which would have been as much as \$910 million. He backed out of that agreement, though, opting instead to follow an arbitrator's ruling that the firms be paid \$121 million.

The dispute over roughly \$800 million in fees remains in court.

Though Ryan considers himself a conservative, some within that wing of the party distrust him. As state's attorney, they note, he prosecuted anti-abortion demonstrators who picketed a Westmont abortion clinic. As attorney general, he signed a letter with Gov. Ryan and others supporting legislation that would prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Jim Ryan also was supportive of the governor's push to make illegal gun possession a felony. And he has been loathe to publicly condemn George Ryan for reversing campaign positions on taxes, expansion of gambling and O'Hare. Before becoming governor, George Ryan promised to hold the line on taxes but raised liquor taxes and license fees to pay for his Illinois First public works program. Candidate George Ryan opposed allowing casino gambling into Cook County but signed legislation that positioned Rosemont to become the site for a transferred riverboat license. And before, during and after becoming governor, George Ryan opposed new runways at O'Hare. Yet in early December, the expansion deal he cut with Chicago Mayor Richard Daley included a controversial southern runway that will eradicate hundreds of homes.

"Jim [Ryan] has been in office long enough to have screwed up his image as a conservative. He hasn't been there for conservative causes of any sort," says Jack Roeser, an O'Malley backer who heads the neoconservative Family Taxpayers' Network in Carpentersville. Roeser lost the 1994 gubernatorial primary to moderate Republican Jim Edgar.

Ryan disagrees. He notes that he's opposed to abortion in all cases except to preserve the life of the mother and favors a prohibition on public funding for abortion. He says he will oppose any tax increases as governor and will not accept campaign contributions from state employees under his control.

On other issues he hasn't been so forthcoming. Ryan hesitated to weigh in on the O'Hare runway realignments and expansion favored by Daley and

the governor. Despite his unwillingness to "interfere" in the city-state talks, Jim Ryan's aides say the attorney general favors construction of a Peotone airport but opposes a new southern runway at O'Hare that would mean bulldozing hundreds of suburban Bensenville homes and businesses.

There are other tensions between the two Ryans. Jim Ryan nudged Gov. Ryan into lame-duck status before the governor was ready. The attorney general gave the governor an ultimatum: reveal his re-election plans or he would move to announce his own gubernatorial campaign regardless of Gov. Ryan's choice. Earlier, Jim Ryan had said he would wait for the governor to make up his mind. Jim Ryan, who acknowledges the strain in the relationship, has of late condemned "excessive spending" under Ryan's administration, which the attorney general says contributed to the need for \$500 million in budget cuts. Though the attorney general has won endorsements from virtually every high-ranking GOP official in the state, the governor is not among them, describing himself as neutral in the primary.

Jim Ryan doubts the governor's claim. "I haven't asked for his endorsement, but he's supporting Corinne Wood. He may be neutral in the sense that he hasn't endorsed her publicly," says Ryan, who is backed by former Govs. James Thompson and Jim Edgar.

Despite the attorney general's high name recognition, he faces a potential problem in that he shares the same last name with a governor whose approval ratings have sunk to historic lows. When George Ryan was secretary of state, employees under his control illegally sold licenses and diverted as much as \$170,000 of those bribes into his campaign account. So far, 40 people have been convicted in the federal probe, which broke only weeks before Ryan won the 1998 election for governor.

Unrelated to George Ryan, the attorney general says some voters may be unclear as to which Ryan he is, and he has polled on that question. But he

At a glance

The other Republican candidates for constitutional office

The governor is the state's chief executive. In addition to the three major candidates, one other filed petitions for that office.

Lloyd Abbott of Bartlett is a commercial driving school teacher who has never run for public office. He opposes toll roads.

The lieutenant governor is first in line should the chief executive be unable to serve. Candidates for these two offices run separately in the primary.

Carl Hawkinson is a state senator from Galesburg. He was tapped to run by Jim Ryan. Hawkinson, a former Knox County state's attorney, served in the Illinois House between 1983 and 1987. He moved to the state Senate and now chairs that chamber's Judiciary Committee. He opposed legalized concealed weapons and voted for legislation making illegal gun possession a felony.

Jack McInerney of Chicago is a retired broker and has never held elective office. He was Illinois chairman of the 2000 presidential campaign of Alan Keyes and Midwest field director for the 1996 Steve Forbes presidential bid. He is against gun control, abortions and an airport at Peotone.

William O'Connor is a state representative from suburban Riverside. He was tapped to run by Wood. He has served in the Illinois House since his 1998 appointment to fill a vacancy. He served as chief legal counsel for the Illinois Gaming Board from 1990 to 1998. He supported authorizing a Rosemont casino, opposed the Illinois First program, voted against a ban on Medicaid-funded abortions and opposed tuition tax credits for parochial school parents.

Charles Owens of Henry is a pharmacist. He has never held office. He would advocate a review of state drug abuse programs.

doesn't think the problem is serious enough to sway the election. "My favorables are very strong, and my job approval is high. If you just say 'Ryan' or 'Jim Ryan' and don't say 'attorney general,' there might be some confusion. But if people see attorney general, they know who I am."

Though her name is different, Wood faces a similar difficulty in being closely associated with the governor. She has had to walk a tightrope, distancing herself from his well-documented troubles without condemning his and, in effect, her leadership. When asked whether she worries that Gov. Ryan's unpopularity could drag her down in this race, Wood says, "Absolutely not. In fact, I had nothing to do with the secretary of state's office. I also think the reputation I've had has been hard-working and independent. And I've run my office with the highest ethical standards."

Wood, who lives in Lake Forest, served as general counsel for the Illinois Commissioner of Banks and Trusts, later joined the Chicago law firm of Hopkins and Sutter where she

practiced corporate and government law, then opened her own practice. In 1996, after serving on the Lake Forest plan commission and a senior citizens panel, she was elected to the Illinois House and served one term before being chosen by Ryan as a running mate — an incredibly rapid ascent by any standard.

Wood focused much of her legislative work on health issues, pushing a crackdown on teen smoking and an agenda for abortion rights. She also sponsored legislation that established a graduated system under which teen drivers obtain their licenses. Wood says she was chief sponsor of more bills that passed both legislative chambers and were signed into law than any other freshman House member. Clearly, that had as much to do with her ambition as the fact she was being groomed to move up and was on George Ryan's short list of running mates after serving less than a year in office.

"With my experience as lieutenant governor, as a state representative and as someone who worked in state agencies, I think I bring the broadest

base of experience to a job that demands the very best," she says.

When Ryan tabbed her, vowing to make her a "full and complete



Jim Ryan

Chad Koppie of Gilberts and **Robert Oberg** of Chicago could not be reached.

The secretary of state is responsible for regulating drivers and vehicles.

Kris Cohn of Rockford is chairwoman of the Winnebago County Board. Cohn intends to make long lines at secretary of state facilities and processing times for vehicle titles issues in her campaign.

Kenton Manning, the mayor of Pawnee, has been a sergeant with the secretary of state police for 23 years. He wants to clear up the backlog in that office.

The treasurer is responsible for overseeing the state's investments.

Judy Baar Topinka of Riverside is running unopposed

in the primary for a third term. She cites the Bright Start college savings program as a top achievement. Topinka was elected to the Illinois House in 1981. After two terms in that chamber, she moved to the state Senate, where she served for 10 years. She says she would continue to work for affordable education and cheaper prescription drugs.

The comptroller is responsible for paying the state's bills.

Thomas Jefferson Ramsdell, an attorney from Wilmette, has not held elected political office. He would make the state's rainy day fund, created at the urging of Democratic Comptroller Dan Hynes, an issue in his campaign, arguing any such funds ought to be returned to taxpayers.

Ana Cecilia Velasco of Springfield could not be reached.

The Editors

partner," most observers viewed her selection as an effort to temper his own legislative record against abortion and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in the early 1980s. She faced no opposition from Republicans and rode Ryan's coattails to victory.

As lieutenant governor, Wood has been active in the environmental push to revive the Illinois River, has promoted the state's Main Street economic development program and has supported a wide variety of breast cancer prevention efforts.

But she has not served in her new job without turbulence, particularly early on. She had to contend with an unusually high staff turnover. She has had three chiefs of staff in three years, though one left because of health problems. And some of her ex-employees complained that she is a micromanager. Relationships also were strained for a time with staffers in the governor's office over such missteps as pre-empting Gov. Ryan's endorsement of George W. Bush with her own. The stress, at one point, prompted Wood to say she was being victimized by a "whispering campaign." At about

the same time, Wood drew negative headlines for authorizing \$20,000 in taxpayer expenses so that her office could design a new logo for use on letterhead and pamphlets. Wood later reimbursed the treasury and expressed regret for the decision.

Wood has faced other trials. She is a breast cancer survivor who underwent a 1997 mastectomy that involved the removal of her right breast. She has been cancer-free since. Wood acknowledges the possible appeal that Jim Ryan's personal story has with voters, but she says she has her own story to tell. And while Ryan receives cancer treatments, Wood says she doesn't intend to go easy on the attorney general in the campaign. "Clearly people will be sympathetic to someone who's faced cancer and overcome cancer and especially sympathetic to someone facing cancer a third time. We should have sympathy for people. At the same time, as a breast cancer survivor now for four-and-a-half years, I don't think any reporters or nemeses have held back in criticizing what I do or stand for."

On social issues, Wood is more

moderate than her opponents. She favors broad abortion rights and supported Gov. Ryan's 2000 veto of legislation prohibiting Medicaid-funded abortions. She has appealed to business groups like Baise's because of her stance in favor of O'Hare expansion. And she supported the governor's efforts to make illegal gun possession a felony and his moratorium on the death penalty. Nevertheless, she has vowed not to increase taxes and favors requiring a three-fifths vote of the General Assembly to raise taxes, a move long supported by the faction on the right of her party. But her bid to appeal to that wing of the party skidded when only weeks earlier she publicly questioned the value of no-new-tax pledges.

Wood has described herself as a "fresh face" in the Republican Party, an "outsider" and the antithesis of Springfield's "old-boy network," all subtle signals of how aware she is of George Ryan's unpopularity. That theme also was contained in a round of pre-holiday commercials in December stressing that she is not an "insider."

"I'm not part of the establishment.

Any number of unforeseen factors over the next 10 weeks could tilt the percentages away from the early favorite, rendering initial polls almost meaningless.

I think that's pretty clear right now. I'm not beholden to special interests or partisan political interests. I've always done what's right," she says. "I am elected as lieutenant governor, so people may call me a politician. But no one has ever called me an insider. I think it's fairly well known that leaders of the party have consistently tried to get me out of this race, so I clearly am not one of the good old boys."

But because she has garnered the support of Baise, Kjellander, former state GOP chief Harold Byron Smith and some members of Ryan's inner circle, Wood arguably has her share of good old boys in her camp. "I don't understand who she's talking about. Is Bob Kjellander a good old boy?" the attorney general asks.

And Wood's implication that she hasn't been taken seriously because she is a woman operating within the predominantly male halls of state government rubs Topinka the wrong way. "I certainly don't consider myself one of the good old boys," Topinka says. "I'm female. I've managed. I managed more than once on all sorts of levels. Politics in Illinois is a blood-sport. If you want to be in it and in the arena, you have to understand you vie with others."

Nonetheless, Wood's strategy of portraying herself as the lone female in a male-dominated gubernatorial primary has drawn support from such abortion-rights organizations as Personal PAC and has gained her a surprise endorsement from Democratic feminist Gloria Steinem, raising the potential that some Democratic women might pull Republican ballots

and offer Wood a show of support not reflected in polls. Wood intends to devote some of her future advertising budget to driving home the fact that her rivals each oppose abortions in all cases except to save the life of a woman. Money appears to be no object. She has already spent close to \$2 million on campaign commercials, with the most intense advertising period still months away.

"The simple fact is that Jim Ryan's and Pat O'Malley's position against abortion, even in cases of rape and incest, is extreme. This campaign will be won because of women. When people, men and women, know what my positions are and what I stand for, the polls will change," she says.

If Corinne Wood's pre-election math hinges on getting out women, Patrick O'Malley relies on the notion that the most driven voters in Republican primaries are conservatives, not the moderates Wood hopes to attract. In 1990, one of Gov. Edgar's primary opponents, Steve Baer, won a little more than 30 percent of the vote. Four years later, when the conservative wing of the GOP took on Edgar again, Jack Roeser got 25 percent of the vote. O'Malley figures if he can draw that same 25 percent to 30 percent voting bloc, he can be a formidable presence in this three-way primary.

"Do I consider that a base that's likely to be there? Yes, I do," O'Malley says. "There's a base of people out there dissatisfied with the status quo, and they're looking for someone they'd like their candidate to be. For once, the establishment finds itself divided. You have the 'anti-insider' Corinne Wood with half the insiders lined up with her. Then the rest of the insiders, some of the same ones, are supporting Jim Ryan."

O'Malley, who lives in Palos Park, was the first to declare his candidacy for governor last spring. Mild-mannered almost to the point of being stoic, he changes his posture dramatically when the subject turns to George Ryan. O'Malley has seized on the ethical lapses that occurred during Ryan's watch in the secretary of state's office and his broken campaign

promises. And he's attempted to clump Jim Ryan and Wood with the wounded GOP leader.

Of Jim Ryan, O'Malley says, "This is the same man who said he wouldn't run for governor unless George Ryan decided not to. When queried further, he said Mr. Ryan had done a good job. I'd submit to you anyone who claims to be a Republican candidate who says the governor has not gone back on essential campaign pledges ... it calls into question that person's judgment." And of Wood, O'Malley says, "She ran with the governor. She agreed with his platform. She also made the same pledges he made, and throughout her entire term as lieutenant governor, she's not only not criticized him for some of his flip-flops, she basically has been his chief cheerleader. If she thinks she can pull the wool over the eyes of the people of Illinois, she's in la la land."

When O'Malley embarked on a radio advertising campaign against George Ryan last summer, urging a break from a scandal-marred tenure, the governor didn't take it sitting down. He angrily told reporters at the State Fair where he stood on an O'Malley candidacy. "It would be the worst thing to ever happen to Illinois if he ever got elected governor of the state. He's an ideologue that's got tunnel vision and doesn't understand what it takes to be governor of the state of Illinois. And I would certainly hope nobody would support him."

O'Malley was elected to the Senate in 1992, representing a mostly blue-collar area in the southwest suburbs. He came in with four other conservative firebrand Republicans, including current U.S. Sen. Peter Fitzgerald, in a freshman class that became known as the Fab Five. O'Malley has flirted with higher office before, including Congress and lieutenant governor.

During his legislative career, the self-described millionaire attorney who chairs the Senate's Financial Institutions Committee has opposed efforts to toughen gun-control laws, expand casino gambling or establish anti-discrimination laws for gays and lesbians. He also has supported school vouchers, a concept long favored by

conservatives that would allow families to enroll their children in the public schools of their choice. O'Malley also has devised an array of new restrictions on abortion. Last spring, for example, he wanted to ensure that fetuses that survive abortion be guaranteed civil rights. Earlier in his political career, he supported efforts to ban so-called partial-birth abortion. And in one of his most controversial moves, O'Malley sponsored a resolution calling for a study to determine whether abortions played any role in the development of breast cancer. In 1999, O'Malley resigned from the board of directors at Christ Hospital in Oak Lawn, objecting to revisions in its policy on abortions. The hospital now allows abortions in cases when a woman's life is endangered, where rape or incest has occurred and where fetuses have severe defects. O'Malley balked, believing that the hospital's standards would allow for the firing of employees who refused to assist in an abortion, and he opposed the hospital's plan to allow minors to get abortions without a parent's consent.

O'Malley also has been behind efforts to free parents from a state requirement that their school-aged children be vaccinated; end state subsidies for the now-closed Robbins waste incinerator; subject train engineers and rail executives to criminal charges if their trains block busy railroad crossings for extended periods; and impose curbs on short-term, high-interest lenders who make up the payday loan industry.

"He's been there for us, right down the line on decent issues. He's a real Reagan Republican," says Roeser.

In this campaign, O'Malley has vowed not to increase taxes or fees, opposed efforts to expand O'Hare and promised to lift Gov. Ryan's moratorium on the death penalty.

Like Wood, O'Malley has rejected overtures from GOP brass to consider dropping out of the race. In fact, the senator believes Daniels' and Gov. Ryan's efforts to shape the party in their image will have a ruinous impact on the GOP, and a primary can only make the party stronger. "We have risen to a point in this party in Illinois

where we need to have a thorough and thoughtful discussion of who we are. We need to remind ourselves of the principles, ideals and convictions of the Republican Party. We cannot be a party that gives lip service. I vehemently disagree with Gov. Ryan and Corinne Wood who want to change the party into something else. It would appear to me they want to turn it into the Democrat Party."

If O'Malley is to prevail in this test of principle, his path to victory depends on Wood and Ryan splitting the GOP establishment vote, leaving him with enough support to eke out a surprise victory like conservative Al Salvi's stunner over former Lt. Gov. Bob Kustra in the 1996 Republican U.S. Senate primary. Kustra was favored by nearly every top party leader but lost when conservatives came out to the polls in droves. But Wood's strategists have long held her candidacy is viable only as long as O'Malley stays in the race and siphons away conservative votes from Jim Ryan's front-running campaign. And, Ryan is depending on the organizational strength that comes with having most of the party's top leaders in

his camp.

Yet, with so many possibilities, the most important campaign battle may be fought during the inevitable attempts to invalidate candidate nominating petition signatures. Should any of the three not survive a challenge like that, the race's shift could be seismic and immediate.

Had Gov. Ryan's efforts that November day at the Executive Mansion been successful in convincing Wood to stay put in her current job or run for another office, O'Malley likely would be little more than a footnote in next March's primary. But that didn't happen, and now the race may be, in the words of Jack Roeser, a "jump ball."

Jim Ryan's views about where George Ryan's true loyalties lie notwithstanding, the governor's vote between Ryan and Wood in this race may be the most mysterious element of this story line. He and Wood have had some celebrated, behind-the-scenes flare-ups during their administration, yet she is entirely his creation down to their shared view that moderates should rule the GOP. And while his anger toward Jim Ryan's attempts to hurry him out of office was real and lasting, the governor went along with efforts to redirect Wood elsewhere on the ticket to Jim Ryan's benefit — perhaps in deference to the wishes of Daniels, the party's new chairman and a long-time friend. The House Republican leader first endorsed Jim Ryan, then replaced that stance with a vow of neutrality upon being elevated to party chairman. Indeed, with 12 months to go before a new governor is seated, it seems pretty clear that George Ryan is resigned to letting things take their natural course, if there is such a thing in this political free-for-all. "Everybody has to make their own decision in the end, and that's what's happened here. You know, a faint heart never won fair ladies," the governor says, invoking one of the oft-used phrases he has picked up along the way during a storied political career. "Whatever the ticket boils down to, I'll be for." □

Dave McKinney is Statehouse bureau chief for the Chicago Sun-Times.



Pat O'Malley

THE DEMOCRATS

They've managed to lose the last seven races for governor. But some think this election is their best shot in years at winning the Executive Mansion

by Aaron Chambers
Illustrations by Mike Cramer

The list of losers is long: Michael Howlett, Michael Bakalis, Adlai Stevenson III (twice), Neil Hartigan, Dawn Clark Netsch and, most recently, Glenn Poshard. The Democratic candidates for governor have managed to lose each of the last seven general elections.

There are a number of variables to this, of course. Illinois is a moderate political state that can swing to either party. Issues matter in individual races. Personalities make a difference, too. And regional identity is always a factor.

But here's a theory on this unbroken string of failure: Each of the Democratic candidates in the last seven gubernatorial elections has managed in one way or another to alienate a substantial portion of that party's voting base. With the liberal Stevenson in 1982, it was labor unions angered that the U.S. senator opposed the federal government's bailout of Chrysler Corp. With the conservative Poshard in 1998, it was progressive women and gays, who worried about the southern Illinoisan's stance on abortion and his attitude toward gays.

This is a new election, and some Democrats think it presents their best shot in years at winning the Executive Mansion. They have a case. As a rule of thumb, candidates of the party opposite the one occupying the White House tend to shine in off-year elections. Then again, eight years of President Ronald Reagan and four years of senior President George Bush weren't sufficient to propel a Democrat to the top spot in Illinois. And the junior President George Bush is wildly

popular for his handling of the terrorist attacks and the subsequent war in Afghanistan.

But there are indications closer to home that the GOP won't get a cakewalk this time out. George Ryan, the retiring Republican governor, has been tarred by a scandal involving the sale of licenses that went to unqualified truckers while he was secretary of state. Some of the bribe money went into his campaign coffers. The governor has not been accused of wrongdoing, but the federal investigation landed one step from him: Dean Bauer, who served as Ryan's inspector

general when he was secretary of state, pleaded guilty to obstruction of justice. Further, Republicans are caught in a potentially damaging three-way primary to succeed him.

Still, the November general election is a long way off. The immediate concern for both parties is the primary election on March 19. And if division was costly in the last seven gubernatorial contests, the Democrats could have their work cut out for them this fall. They face a four-way primary contest of their own, and if they hope to solidify their traditional, sometimes schizophrenic, base — labor, bungalow-belt and rural conservatives, progressives, women and minorities — they are likely to have plenty of fence-mending to do after what's shaping up as a contentious primary.

Leading the four main candidates in the polls is former Attorney General Roland Burris, who is making his third run for governor. The poll numbers are no surprise: Burris, the first African American elected to statewide office in Illinois, has solid name recognition, especially among blacks. He held statewide office four times, including three terms as comptroller, and he made a run for Chicago mayor.

U.S. Rep. Rod Blagojevich, despite the early polls, is thought by some party insiders to be the front-runner. That's because the Chicago congressman has the most money — \$3 million and counting — a solid organization, good labor support and the political muscle of his father-in-law, a powerful Chicago alderman. He has served in the Illinois House, but this is his first run for statewide office.



Roland Burris

The third candidate is Paul Vallas, a lanky and cerebral former Chicago Public Schools chief executive who has enjoyed over the past six years favorable publicity as the city's school reformer. He's behind in cash, claiming to have nearly \$1 million by early December, but is promising to raise at least \$3 million for the primary. He has held other appointed city posts and put in a stint as a legislative fiscal aide.

The fourth candidate is Michael Bakalis, a former comptroller and state school superintendent who teaches at Northwestern University. He's an intellectual and a career educator and, as such, is stressing education in his platform. Bakalis hasn't served statewide since 1979, when he finished his term as comptroller, and he will have to work hard to refamiliarize voters with his name. He was the first to announce but is running last in the polls.

The first challenge for all the candidates is the same: getting voters, exhausted from post-September 11 news coverage, to pay attention at all. Focusing voters on campaigns is always tough, yet the terrorist attacks and the war in Afghanistan have made that task more difficult. "Since 9/11, you've really gutted any appetite for politics as usual in Illinois, and that appetite will need to be whetted again by the various elected officials, nonelected officials and candidates," says Thom Serafin, a Chicago-based political consultant. "And I'm not certain how you go about doing that. That's what I think everybody is struggling with right now."

Still, the Democratic candidates maintain that with the holidays over and the race heating up, voters will soon reconnect with state politics. In the meantime, they have modified their messages to incorporate voter concern about terrorism and, closer to home, the state's budget problems. The national economy has slumped and state revenues are down, forcing Gov. Ryan to impose \$485 million in spending cuts last fall to help close a \$500 million hole in the \$53 billion state budget. Among other cost-saving measures, he cut health services to the poor and ordered 60,000 state workers

who report to him to take an unpaid furlough day.

The Democrats can be expected to respond.

As comptroller, Burris called on the state in 1984 to set aside revenue surpluses in a so-called rainy day fund. After Ryan's cuts, Burris argued the administration could have avoided such drastic measures had officials listened to him. In fact, lawmakers did establish a rainy day fund in 2000 at the urging of Comptroller Daniel Hynes. In November, Hynes, a Democrat, had to drain the fund's \$226 million to help pay the state's bills. Burris says as governor he would ensure the state kept at least \$1 billion in that fund.

Getting lawmakers not to spend money isn't a simple matter, of course. Nevertheless, the state's budget is likely to become a hot issue in this race.

And Burris knows budgets. During his three terms as comptroller, he developed a reputation for credible fiscal analysis. Of course, during that time, he played opposite Gov. James Thompson, the big-spending Republican. Burris' analyses of the state's financial condition during the economic downturn of the 1980s were more on target than Thompson's.

Burris opposed a tax hike the governor proposed, taking heat from black legislators who wanted to see Chicago school funding increased. The tax hike failed and Thompson started imposing spending cuts. "I'm the most fiscally conservative Democrat you'll find," says Burris, who was a bank official early in his career.

In 1990, Burris won one term as attorney general, besting Jim Ryan, the current attorney general and front-runner for the GOP gubernatorial nomination. In that office, Burris sparred with another GOP governor, Jim Edgar, over Edgar's fiscal austerity measures and over the attorney general's role as the state's lawyer.

And Burris cites one other act during his tenure in that post: He saw through the execution of one of the nation's most notorious murderers. "I'm the one who killed John Wayne Gacy," he says.

More than any of the four Democratic candidates in this election, Burris knows the campaign routine. He ran for governor in 1994 and 1998, failing both times to win the Democratic nomination.

Still, Burris has the early lead in this race. A poll commissioned by Blagojevich concluded that Burris is favored by 30 percent of the respondents, with 32 percent undecided. Blagojevich and Vallas were tied with 17 percent each; Bakalis got 4 percent. Other polls, including one paid for by Vallas, also put Burris in the lead.

The telephone survey done for Blagojevich, which included 604 likely Democratic voters, was conducted by the Washington, D.C., firm of Garin-Hart-Young. It showed that Burris leads Blagojevich and Vallas in name recognition. The three-time gubernatorial candidate had 87 percent name recognition in the Chicago area, 86 percent in the northern part of the state and 77 percent in southern Illinois.

Nevertheless, the race is barely under way. As Brendan Reilly, communications director for Vallas, puts it: "How can you have an opinion poll when nobody has an opinion?"

And while Burris' name recognition is serving him well, he has not demonstrated the fundraising capability of Blagojevich. Money, of course, translates into media buying power. At the end of June, Burris' campaign had \$39,690 on hand, according to the state Board of Elections. He hopes to raise and spend \$2 million for the primary.

So why would Burris, who practices probate and corporate transaction law at The Peters Law Firm in Chicago, want to run again? "It's because of the people that have come to me and asked that I not give up all that experience and knowledge that I have of Illinois," he says. "I can use that to the benefit of the 12 million people in this state to improve their quality of life."

He wants the state to cover at least 51 percent of the cost of public education, so that local districts can reduce their reliance on property taxes and, in theory, alleviate the disparate quality of education around the state.

At a glance

The other Democratic candidates for constitutional office

The governor is the state's chief executive. In addition to the four major candidates, three others filed petitions for that office.

Sohan Joshi works in the city clerk's office in Chicago. He wants to improve education and workforce training.

Wesley Pettifer of Joliet and **Rebecca Sankey** of Chicago could not be reached.

The lieutenant governor is first in line should the chief executive be unable to serve. Candidates for these two offices run separately in the primary.

F. Michael Kelleher Jr., who lives in Normal, is a professor at Illinois State University where he teaches American government and economic development. He won the 2000 Democratic nomination for the U.S. House of Representatives from the 15th District, but he lost the general election. He wants faster reporting on large

campaign contributions. He would push for increased spending on education, health coverage for uninsured working families and stricter workplace safety laws.

Pat Quinn is a former state treasurer, serving from 1991 to 1995. The Chicago lawyer has long been an advocate for consumers and taxpayers. He's best known for organizing a drive in 1980 to reduce the size of the Illinois House. He won the Democratic nomination for secretary of state in 1994, but lost the general election. Quinn ran for lieutenant governor in 1998, but failed to win his party's nomination. He would push for an amendment to the state Constitution establishing universal health care.

Joyce Washington of Chicago is a vice president of Advocate Healthcare in Oak Brook. She would push to shift emergency care to preventive care.

Amie Parisi-Blaszynski of Chicago could not be reached.

Currently, schools get 38 percent of their funding from the state, 9 percent from the federal government and the rest from local property taxes.

Burris also is pushing for more state investment in information technology, and tighter controls on gun sales.

As for voter turnout this March, he believes anger over the 2000 presidential voting debacle, and reports that votes in Cook County were undercounted, will motivate Democrats, African Americans in particular, to go to the polls. He says some have complained to him about feeling disenfranchised when the U.S. Supreme Court put an end to the Florida recount. "Eighty percent of the African Americans in the country voted in that election and about 95 percent of those were for Gore," he says. "They felt that they did not get their president."

Secretary of State Jesse White, also an African American, agrees. As a committeeman for Chicago's 27th

Ward, White says it will be his job to remind voters of what happened in Florida. "I think [we're] going to inspire some people to come out," he says.

Much of the focus among strategists so far in this campaign has been on black voters, a significant portion of the Democrats' base, and whether Blagojevich or Vallas will succeed in peeling away a substantial number of those voters from Burris. Still, Burris discounts any suggestion that he's focused on black voters, who are expected to comprise about 30 percent of the Democratic vote in March, or that he has the bulk of those votes in his corner. "I am not the black candidate," he says. "I am a candidate running for governor in a state of 12 million people."

All the candidates have centered their campaigns in the Chicago area. Yet, some observers argue that this race will be won or lost downstate. It's estimated that about 30 percent of

Democratic voters in this state live outside the Chicago media market. Burris stresses that he was born in Centralia and educated at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale.

"You constantly hear that the majority of the votes are cast in the northern part of the state, in particular Cook County and the burbs, but in close races it is vitally important that candidates pay attention to the entire state," says Clark Gyure, a lobbyist and communications consultant based in Carbondale. "There are many needs here in southern Illinois, from infrastructure to jobs to health care to education, that the voters are studying very carefully. I think whoever has the best message and can connect with the voters of southern Illinois, and who lets them know that they intend to be here, that will bode well for that individual in the primary as well as the general election."

The secretary of state is primarily responsible for regulating drivers and vehicles.

Jesse White is running unopposed in the primary for a second term. During the Chicago Democrat's first term, his office will have distributed 8.5 million sets of new license plates to Illinois drivers. New plates had not been distributed statewide since 1984. As is customary for the secretary of state in recent years, White pushed tough-on-drunk-drivers measures through the legislature and into law. Under one of the measures, repeat drunk drivers must install ignition interlock devices in their vehicles. The device determines whether the driver is sober enough to drive.

The treasurer is responsible for overseeing the state's investments.

Thomas Dart, a state representative from Chicago, is running unopposed in the primary. Dart is serving his fourth term in the Illinois House, where he is chairman

of the House Judiciary Committee on Civil Law and co-chairman of the Prison Management Reform Committee. As treasurer, he would create incentives for private investment in economically depressed communities. He also wants to enhance programs to help first-time home buyers.

The comptroller is responsible for paying the state's bills.

Daniel Hynes is running unopposed in the primary for re-election. During his first term, the Chicago Democrat convinced lawmakers to establish a so-called rainy day fund. Last November, Hynes drained the fund's \$226 million to help pay the state's bills. The comptroller's office also regulates private cemeteries and funeral homes and last spring Hynes won various consumer protection provisions, including one requiring cemeteries to draft contracts in larger type. In 1999, Hynes established a statewide hotline for consumer problems with the funeral home and cemetery care industries.

Aaron Chambers



Rod Blagojevich

If any of these candidates will be challenged downstate, it's Blagojevich, who is not well known outside his congressional district on Chicago's North Side and whose ethnic name may not be attractive to downstate voters. Yet Blagojevich managed to get the endorsement of the Illinois Democratic County Chairmen's Association, comprised of the 101 Democratic county chairs outside Cook County, and the congressman is counting on the group to deliver votes.

"Blagojevich's financial advantage and endorsement by 70 [individual] downstate county chairs and the Illinois Democratic County Chairmen's Association coupled with his American dream/economic security message give him the best chance to take advantage of the huge number of downstate undecideds and voters who are temporarily with Burris because he is the only candidate known downstate," wrote Pete Giangreco, Blagojevich's campaign spokesman,

in a memo to *Illinois Issues*.

In Congress, where Blagojevich is serving his third term, he has pushed for a national sales tax holiday and called for a ban on civilian sales of .50-caliber long-range military sniper rifles. He wants Congress to increase survivor benefits for families of firefighters, police officers and emergency medical technicians killed in the line of duty. He's sponsoring legislation to give the states more than \$1 billion to prepare for bioterrorism attacks. And he voted for an airport security plan that makes screeners in most airports federal employees.

On a national level, he's perhaps best known for traveling to Serbia in 1999 with the Rev. Jesse Jackson and negotiating the release of three American soldiers who were held there. (Blagojevich is of Serbian descent.) In 1997, he blasted the U.S. Navy's plan to ship napalm through the Chicago area. The plan was cancelled.

In Springfield, where Blagojevich

Each of the Democratic candidates in the last seven gubernatorial elections has managed in one way or another to alienate a substantial portion of that party's voting base.

served two terms in the Illinois House, he was one of the first state lawmakers to push for a truth-in-sentencing law, under which the worst violent offenders must serve 85 percent to 100 percent of their sentences.

On the campaign trail, he has criticized the state's failure to adequately address its teacher shortage; he wants a greater statewide teacher recruitment effort. Last summer, he criticized the Ryan Administration for failing to fund a state extension of the federal Children's Health Insurance Program, saying the move jeopardized up to \$200 million in matching federal dollars.

The bottom line for Blagojevich? He says his experience on Capitol Hill would help Illinois get more bang for its buck. "Because I've been here [in Washington] and I've had a chance to work in the system and know people, I believe that if I were the governor I would know where to go and how to better work in terms of returning federal dollars to Illinois," he says.

Blagojevich had not unveiled his prescription drug plan or the bulk of his education plan by mid-December. But of the drug plan, Giangreco says, "We're going to have a program that expands the range of drugs that are covered and gets more seniors into the program than there are currently."

Meanwhile, in Chicago, the congressman has what's regarded as the most extensive organization of the four campaigns. The ward-based political army of his father-in-law, Chicago Alderman Dick Mell, is working for him. He also has support from such high-profile figures as U.S. Rep. Bill Lipinski, the powerful Chicago Democrat.

Yet, since announcing his candidacy for governor in July, Blagojevich has been forced to defend his independence and play down the role of his father-in-law, a major force who routinely butts heads with Chicago Mayor Richard Daley. Though the days are long gone when a thumbs up or a thumbs down from a Mayor Daley meant life or death for a candidate's statewide hopes, the Democratic organization is still a force in the city, where the largest portion of Illinois' Democrats live. And one theory among party insiders is that Daley fears Mell would pull the strings in a Blagojevich Administration, and that the mayor will work to keep the congressman from winning. Blagojevich calls that notion "completely unfounded and wrong." He says his working relationship with Daley is good and he doesn't think the

mayor has any objection to his running for, or being, governor. "In fact, because of the healthy and successful working relationship that I've had with [the mayor] over the years, I think he'd be very content with it," he says.

Vallas may have his own issues with Daley, who, at least officially, has remained neutral in the race. Last summer, he was reportedly forced out by the mayor, his boss, as schools chief. Vallas denies that, saying he left the school system on his terms and that he has a "fine" relationship with Daley. "The mayor's position was [that] I could stay as CEO as long as I wanted and my position was [that] when I had the system in as good a financial condition as I could get it, that would be time for me to leave," he says. "Six years was enough and I wanted to leave the system in good shape."

During his tenure in that post, Vallas is quick to note, he balanced multibillion-dollar budgets. Indeed, Vallas seems to enjoy budgeting so much that reporters sometimes leave his press conferences mind-boggled by the details Vallas offers in five-minute responses to questions.

Before Daley appointed him in 1995 to run the public school system, Vallas served as the city's budget director and, before that, revenue director. He earlier served as executive director for the Illinois Economic and Fiscal Commission, the legislature's fiscal accounting arm.

"I think I have broad appeal, due to the fact that I've held senior administrative positions," he says. "I obviously had to make a lot of decisions and I've been at the forefront of many issues. I think I have a good base."

Of course Vallas wants to be known as the education candidate. He supports putting the Illinois State Board of Education under the direct control of the governor, as Chicago's school system is controlled by the mayor. Under his education plan, exemplary teachers and principals would be allowed to work past retirement age without compromising pension benefits. And he would impose a moratorium on new tests "until there



Paul Vallas

is agreement on a testing system that is fair, consistent, nationally normed and diagnostically useful."

He also has a plan for beefing up public safety. He wants the General Assembly to increase taxes on riverboat casinos by at least \$286 million a year. That money would then be used to help communities expand and pay for the costs of police and fire protection. "The riverboats will continue to reap healthy profits," he says.

But Vallas says he's against "general tax increases," including an increase in the income tax. Instead, he believes the state's focus should be on reprioritizing spending with a focus on education, public safety, health care and economic development. "There's no larger issue, no more important issue, than the fiscal health of the state," he says.

Like Blagojevich, Vallas is promising better prescription drug programs for the elderly. Under his plan, the state would negotiate with pharmaceutical firms for drugs at discount prices, then make the drugs available to seniors and working poor at reduced prices.

He also has a connection to downstate, having lived in Springfield for 12 years.

Vallas may not be the most charismatic of the candidates, but he's certainly the most intense. Asked to distinguish himself from his opponents, Vallas responds in typical fashion: "I'm the only one with broad-based governmental management experience." That's a mouthful.

As for being the "education candidate," Vallas does have some competition.

Bakalis, the former comptroller and last elected state school superintendent, is also a career educator. After more than 20 years away from statewide office — he finished his term as comptroller in 1979 — Bakalis says he decided to run for governor this year after listening to his students at Northwestern University. He teaches public policy and public management at the university's Kellogg School of Management. He also teaches history in Northwestern's history department.

"As I've been teaching at Northwestern, it's become increasingly clear

to me that the people I teach, from ages 18 to over 40, are totally disaffected, disenchanted with politics and politicians, and I think that's really unhealthy," he says. "And I think we could just have a different kind of politics."

Along that line, Bakalis says he's grown tired of what he calls government mismanagement and corruption in both major parties. "Cynicism and disrespect of politics and politicians is the attitude of the majority of our citizens," he says.

Bakalis would halt mandated standardized testing in elementary and secondary schools and initiate a review of the "accuracy, reliability, fairness, relevancy, and bias of the tests administered to all Illinois students." He also would begin a review of special education practices, particularly in how they affect black children.

"We definitely need educational accountability, but true accountability cannot be measured by tests which profess to evaluate only a small part of what the process of public education is all about," he says.

As for dealing with the economic downturn, Bakalis says he would order all state agencies, boards and commissions to reduce spending by 5 percent. He also would impose a hiring freeze on new state employees and suspend any projects funded by Illinois First, Gov. Ryan's \$12 billion public works program, that have not already been initiated.

Since leaving the comptroller's office, Bakalis has held an array of jobs in the public and private sectors. He served as deputy undersecretary of education under former President Jimmy Carter, as president of Triton College in River Grove and as an administrator at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb and Loyola University in Chicago.

Like Burris, Bakalis has run for governor before. He won the Democratic nomination in 1978, but lost the general election to Jim Thompson. His strategy to win the primary this year is to target voters in the Cook County suburbs and collar counties. He lives in the DuPage County community of Darien.

"The city is important, but what I think is going to happen in the city is you're going to have Mr. Burris, Mr. Vallas and Mr. Blagojevich, who are all Chicago people, divide up that whole [city] and the election is going to be won in the suburbs of Cook and the collar counties," he says.

Bakalis acknowledges the tough fight ahead of him, saying he's used to campaigning with less money than his opponents. "This is not anything new to me, but I make up for it, I think, with hard work and organization and targeting where I'm going to spend my money," he says. At the end of June, he had \$48,153 available, according to the Board of Elections. He wants to raise \$600,000 to \$700,000 to spend on the primary, saying that would make him competitive.

Democrats have a crowded field in the primary. Then the real work will begin. If they want to retake the governor's mansion in November, they will need to put their party's base together behind one of these candidates. Surely, they want to put that loser list behind them. □



Michael Bakalis

Generation gap

More than two decades separate the two Democratic candidates for attorney general. This reality could mean the difference between a law enforcer and a legal advocate

by Kevin McDermott

In 1967, John Schmidt graduated from law school into a nation rocked by the civil rights movement and increasingly divided by a war, two issues which would soon occupy a good deal of the newly minted attorney's energy.

Lisa Madigan, too, would earn her law degree and wade into the big social and political issues of her time, but not for a while. For her, 1967 was the year she turned 1.

Schmidt, a 58-year-old former U.S. Justice Department official, and Madigan, a 35-year-old state senator, will face off March 19 for the Democratic nomination for Illinois attorney general. On the surface, their contest is about priorities, about the proper role of the states in the post-September 11 world and about experience versus energy.

On another, more basic level, it's about the 23 years — a full generation — that separate these two candidates. This reality could mean the difference between an attorney general focused on that office's role as the state's top law enforcer, and one who embraces its role as legal activist and advocate.

This race highlights a generational theme that's emerged this campaign season. Madigan is one of several unusually young Democrats running for statewide office in 2002. In fact, depending on what happens in the March primaries, the Democrats could go into the fall general election campaign with one of the youngest



John Schmidt

statewide slates in Illinois history.

While both of these candidates downplay the generational issue, it's clear that it largely defines the tone of their campaigns. It can be seen in Schmidt's frequent use of the word

"experience" and in Madigan's insistence that the word should be defined by more than just years.

"I think it's a fake issue. It's not how old you are, it's what you've done with your life," says Madigan. She likes to point out that she is 10 years older than the constitutionally required age to run for attorney general, and that she has won an election, something her opponent has never done.

"I don't think 35 is young. I'm old enough to run for president."

But Madigan also likes to talk about the "immense energy" young candidates bring to politics, as

demonstrated by "the Bill Clintons and John Kennedys of this world." She's fond of that most Kennedyesque of words — "vigor" — and the optimistic, activist brand of politics it evokes.

"Certainly, young candidates have an advantage in that we have a lot of energy," says Madigan. "I've been a teacher, I have worked with police, I'm a lawyer, I'm in the Senate. I have an immense amount of energy in whatever I do."

Schmidt, too, dismisses the age issue as irrelevant, while subtly embracing it. His campaign is thick with reminders that, while his opponent may invoke Kennedy's youthful image, it was Schmidt who was actually studying law during Kennedy's presidency.

Photographs by Jon Randolph



"The country had never seemed more energized and committed to strong values of public service" in those days, says Schmidt, recalling how urgently people craved smart, experienced leadership. "It's even more true now [since the terrorist attacks of September 11]. Over and over again I hear people say we need someone with experience and qualifications in the office."

From these widely different perspectives, they seek an office that, as much as any in state government, can be forged and tempered by its occupant.

The Illinois Constitution outlines the role of the attorney general in a single sentence, defining it simply as "the legal officer of the state." At its most basic, the office is responsible for prosecuting violations of state law, defending Illinois employees and statutes in court, and suing on behalf of the state.

But the office has evolved to become one of state government's bully pulpits, if only because the occupant can focus public attention on specific issues by taking them up in court.

Enforcement of environmental protection regulations became one of the office's prime duties under Attorney General William Scott in the 1970s. In the 1980s, Neil Hartigan made a crusade out of protecting the disabled and the elderly from abuse in state nursing homes. Former Democratic Attorney General Roland Burris and incumbent Republican Jim Ryan (both running for governor) have put consumer protection on the front burner, routinely suing businesses for defrauding Illinoisans. Public health issues — most notably, the state's involvement in the national tobacco company settlement — also have become part of the job. Schmidt and Madigan say they would continue focusing on those issues.

Before they even come into play, though, Schmidt and Madigan both will have to deal with two more immediate ones: Madigan's age, and her family.

Republicans, eager to control the double-edge sword that is the age issue, already are peddling the notion that Madigan and some of her fellow Democratic candidates are too inexperienced for these serious times,

and that they're on the ballot mainly because of family connections to more experienced politicians. They've tagged it the "All My Children" ticket.

Madigan is the daughter of Illinois House Speaker and state Democratic Party Chairman Michael Madigan. Incumbent state Comptroller Daniel Hynes, 33, is the son of former state Senate president and Cook County Assessor Tom Hynes. U.S. Rep. Rod Blagojevich, 45, one of the party's leading gubernatorial candidates, is the son-in-law of powerful Chicago Alderman Dick Mell. And, seeking the Democratic nomination for state treasurer is state

standard Republican line. "You have to be related to a powerhouse in the Democratic Party to run."

Schmidt himself has quipped darkly about the challenges of running against the daughter of the party's chairman — who already has won the state party's official endorsement. When campaign finance reports are filed by the end

of January, there's little doubt that Schmidt's campaign, along with the bulk of the state's political media, will be checking Lisa Madigan's money closely for any evidence of her father's fingerprints.

"I don't think anyone is surprised that the daughter of the state party chairman can pack a platform with elected party leaders,"

Schmidt said last month after Madigan made her candidacy announcement while flanked by Democratic Party elders from across the state, including former U.S. Sen. Paul Simon, a southern Illinoisan, who is her campaign chairman. "I don't think this election is going to be about who you're related to."

The truth is, though, family connections theoretically can work well for candidates, at least in party primaries. The party faithful, who vote in primaries, like dynasties, goes the thinking. However, as Adlai Stevenson III learned in the 1980s, that advantage can vanish in the general election.

It is a line Madigan has had to walk carefully. Her comments on her lineage have ranged from dismissive ("I have an independent record from my father. This is my desire and ambition, not his," she said in early November), to embracing ("I'm very proud that my last name is Madigan," she told reporters in Springfield last month. "I'm very proud to be part of a family that has such a tradition of public service").

As for age, there isn't, obviously, anything Madigan or Schmidt can do about that particular issue, except to



Photographs by Randy Squires



Lisa Madigan

Rep. Thomas Dart, a 39-year-old Chicagoan who is the son of William Dart, Richard J. Daley's chief corporation counsel.

"[It's] the party of nepotism," state GOP chairman Lee Daniels said last month, echoing what has become a

At a glance

DEMOCRATS FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL

Lisa Madigan is a state senator from Chicago and an attorney specializing in employment discrimination law. In the Senate since 1998, she is the ranking Democrat on the Senate Education Committee and co-chair of the Conference of Women Legislators.

John Schmidt is a Chicago attorney and former associate attorney general of the United States. He prosecuted price-fixing at the Decatur-based Archer Daniels Midland Co. Schmidt also was chief negotiator for the United States in the 1993 world trade talks in Geneva.

REPUBLICANS FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL

Joe Birkett of Wheaton is DuPage County state's attorney. He's a tough-on-crime conservative. He was elected in 1996 after serving in the state's attorney's office for 15 years. If elected, he would concentrate on prosecution of drug laws, particularly the use of Ecstasy and other "club drugs." He would expand child protection strategies, including going after Internet pornographers, and advocate stronger penalties for drunk drivers.

Bob Coleman is a River Forest attorney. He is a trial lawyer specializing in business litigation. He began his career under Attorney General William Scott, then entered private practice. He has vowed to be active in pursuing issues involving energy and environmental law.

The Editors

make the most of the hands that are dealt to them.

"[It's] all about how you play it," says Chris Mooney, a political scientist at the University of Illinois at Springfield. "I think it's incumbent on the person who is unusual to take advantage of that, to show they've got a lot of vigor — play touch football on the White House lawn or whatever."

Perhaps the most controversial role for the attorney general in recent years has been the responsibility in death penalty cases. But on that issue, as on many others, there isn't much distance between the two Democratic candidates.

The office is required under Illinois law to ask the courts to set execution dates for condemned inmates. But incumbent Republican Jim Ryan hasn't done that since Gov. George Ryan imposed his death penalty moratorium in January 2000 in the wake of revelations that 13 people have been improperly sent to Death Row in recent years.

Jim Ryan (who isn't related to the governor) has said he supports the moratorium, pending a full review of the system. Schmidt and Madigan both support the death penalty but favor keeping the moratorium in place until the pending review is complete.

In fact, beyond age, it's hard to find stark differences between these two Democrats. Most of the contrasts center on the approach and philosophy they say they would bring to the post. It's a battle of nuance, one that hints at Schmidt's Ivy League legal training in the 1960s and at Madigan's social work in the violent streets of South Africa and Chicago in the 1980s.

"People are really looking for somebody to be an activist and an advocate in the role of attorney general. That's become very clear," Madigan says. She says the office should go beyond enforcing environmental and consumer protection laws that are already on the books and become an advocate for change in those and other causes.

The next attorney general, she says, "must have the foresight and imagination to innovate." She says she "absolutely" believes the job entails

lobbying the legislature and the public on issues — and not just on tougher criminal statutes and longer sentences.

In her December campaign kickoff, for example, she announced that, if elected, she would appoint a special "labor liaison" to focus specifically on worker safety, sexual harassment and other labor issues. She also is proposing special initiatives under the office to address neglect and abuse in nursing homes, bureaucratic snafus like the recent breakdown in the state's system of disbursing child support checks, and creation of a "Bureau of Privacy Protection" to focus on identity theft and credit fraud.

Schmidt says law enforcement, and not advocacy, is the office's prime duty, especially since September 11. He has said he will set up a "Statewide Anti-Terrorist Working Group," comprised of state and local law enforcement officials, to meet regularly and exchange information about readiness for terrorist attacks. He also has said he would convene a statewide grand jury and work with local prosecutors and police to go after gangs.

Schmidt's cops-and-courts approach to the office is consistent with his background. He was President Bill Clinton's third-ranking official at the Justice Department. As Associate Attorney General of the United States from 1994 through 1997, he led federal cases in civil rights enforcement, environmental law and anti-trust prosecutions, including the record \$100 million agricultural price-fixing fine against Archer Daniels Midland Co. of Decatur. Schmidt is now a partner at Chicago's Mayer Brown & Platt law firm and a visiting scholar at Northwestern University School of Law.

Lisa Madigan's experience is more of the street-level variety. After graduating from Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., at 21, she went to South Africa to teach black Catholic school students. There was a teacher shortage, partly because the country was still under apartheid and white South Africans weren't allowed to teach in black schools. She spent a year there, teaching English, math and other subjects and hearing of violent deaths

in her students' families "every other week."

Madigan returned to Chicago and joined a program at Wright College that was a precursor to the "community policing" movement aimed at fostering cooperation between police and the communities they protect. She worked with police and families in the Austin area, one of Chicago's roughest. Upon graduating from Loyola University Law School, Madigan joined the Chicago firm of Sachnoff & Weaver, specializing in employment discrimination law.

The differences in focus between Madigan and Schmidt were clear from the time the race started in early December. In her candidacy announcement in Springfield, Madigan vowed to "bring every tool to the job of protecting our citizens, and come up with a few new ones."

She harkens repeatedly to her experiences in Chicago with "community policing."

"I believe law enforcement is most effective when it works together with the community," Madigan says. "I know how to get communities involved in the fight against crime."

Schmidt says advocacy should take a backseat to straightforward enforcement of the statutes. "The people of Illinois don't just want advocacy for more environmental laws; they want [prosecutors] to enforce the laws [that exist] against polluters," says Schmidt. "They don't just want advocacy of safer neighborhoods; they want tough action against gang violence."

"Community policing is important," Schmidt adds, "but that kind of 'law enforcement' is not a substitute for law enforcement."

The campaign between Schmidt and Madigan has been civil, in part because their views on major political issues are so similar. But in terms of personal experience, these two candidates exhibit all the differences that are to be expected from two people separated by a generation.

Madigan was a disc jockey at Georgetown University in the early 1980s. Her tastes ran to the post-New Wave acts that were big on campuses at

the time — Talking Heads, R.E.M. — as well as what she calls "oldies."

"There were more 'Steely Dan Mornings' than I care to remember," she says.

For Schmidt, "oldies" meant Elvis, who dominated music while Schmidt was in high school. In college, the hot new thing was the Beatles. They came to America while Schmidt was an undergraduate at Harvard. "Some of my friends went down to New York to greet them," he recalls.

Both candidates are Chicago Democrats, and both have been active in civil rights, consumer rights and political reform movements. But even their activism is largely defined by their generations.

Schmidt worked for Eugene McCarthy's 1968 presidential campaign and founded a Chicago organization called "Lawyers Against the War in Vietnam." In the 1970s, he led a group of lawyers that fought to oust incompetent Cook County judges who had been installed by Chicago's Democratic Machine.

Schmidt says his long and active career — and, especially, a campaign that has already taken him to almost every county in the state — should refute any concerns about the "vigor" issue. "I don't think there's anybody who's going to out-work me."

Facing Schmidt's longer legal experience, Madigan points to her political acumen. In 1998, she ran in the Democratic primary for the Illinois Senate, beating incumbent Sen. Bruce Farley, who was under indictment for mail fraud at the time.

Madigan subsequently won the general election to become the Senate's second-youngest member (the youngest, Sen. Kimberly Lightford, a Maywood Democrat, is 33). She has since become the ranking Democrat on the Senate Education Committee, co-chair of the Conference of Women Legislators and a member of the governor's Universal Pre-School Task Force. Schmidt's only electoral experience is a failed run for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1998.

Madigan has sponsored successful legislation that paid \$1 million to

identify and replace Asian long-horned beetle-infested trees, enabled police to seize vehicles with secret compartments for drugs or guns, and allowed high school students to serve as election judges.

"People said, 'How are you going to get along in the Senate with all these older, white men?' Well, [in South Africa], I had to fit in and communicate with [people] whose first language wasn't even English," says Madigan. "It doesn't take five minutes in Springfield to realize it's important to foster personal relationships with people."

The differing approaches of Schmidt and Madigan are apparent in their endorsements. Schmidt has garnered backing from such law enforcement officials as Scott Lassar and Thomas Sullivan, two former U.S. attorneys for Illinois' Northern District, as well as several Illinois sheriffs.

Madigan has won widespread support from Democratic Party organizations, including the Illinois Democratic County Chairmen's Association and the Democratic State Central Committee.

On the other side of the primary awaits, most likely, Joe Birkett, the Republican DuPage County state's attorney and a protégé of incumbent Attorney General Ryan. His only GOP primary challenger is River Forest trial attorney Bob Coleman, a political novice.

Birkett, who has most of the state party's major leaders behind him, is a tough-on-crime conservative, a position that could play particularly well in the first post-September 11 general election. Whoever wins the Democratic nomination won't have an easy task in November.

"Law-and-order always plays well in war time and in times of economic crisis," notes Mooney, the UIS political scientist.

For Madigan and Schmidt, the more immediate question is whether Democratic voters think generational perspective matters. □

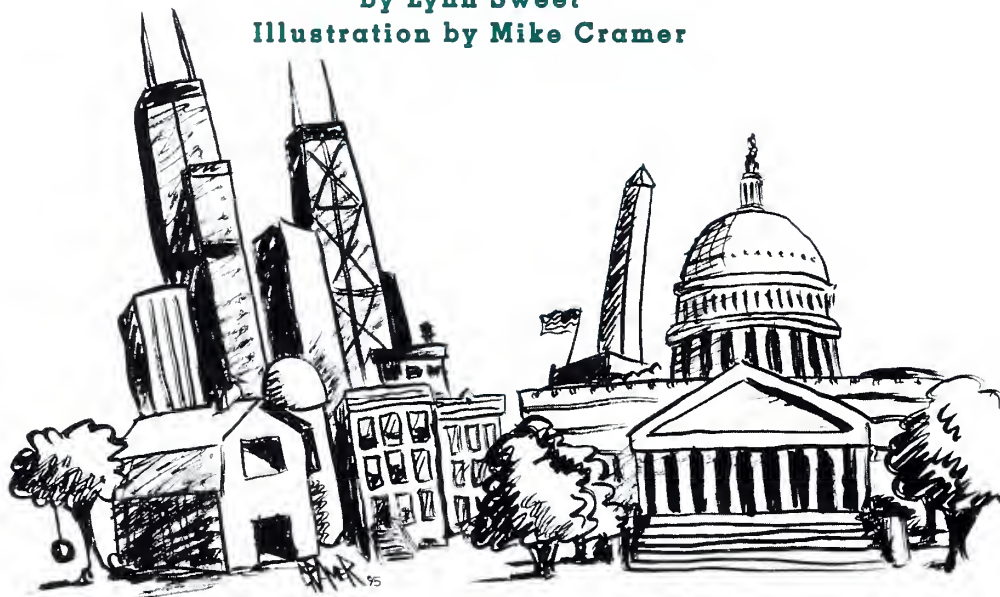
Kevin McDermott is a Statehouse-based reporter for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Left to chance

By failing to field a blue chip contender for the U.S. Senate, Republicans won't get a double punch at the top of the ticket in November

by Lynn Sweet

Illustration by Mike Cramer



Republican leaders couldn't lure Jim Edgar, the popular former governor, into a run for the U.S. Senate. Their clumsy efforts to muscle Lt. Gov. Corinne Wood into the contest were rebuffed because she was determined to go for governor. And their attempts to court the earnest Jack Ryan, a trader turned high school teacher who is rich enough to bankroll a bid, failed when the political novice decided not to make the race.

As a result, Illinois Republicans are staring at an uphill battle against incumbent Richard Durbin, the Springfield Democrat who is seeking a second term.

The consequences could be more far-reaching. Republican leaders may be fixated on the contest for the governor's mansion, but by failing to field a blue chip contender for the U.S. Senate, they've lost their chance for a double punch at the top of the ticket in

the November general election. Not having a well-known Senate candidate could lessen GOP voter turnout and make awkward a coordinated campaign with the gubernatorial nominee.

Party leaders never fully engaged in the Senate contest except to try to offer it as a consolation prize to Wood. So, through strategic indifference or poor persuasive powers, the GOP race for the Senate has been left to chance. Three little-known Republicans, none of whom have held or even run for a statewide office, have mounted significant campaigns to win that party's nomination on March 19.

There's James Oberweis, whose name is familiar to those partial to his name-sake ice cream, which he claims has the highest fat content in the world. He handed out free samples when he announced in November. Oberweis is president of a mutual fund and a money management firm as well as board

chairman of the family owned Oberweis Dairy in Aurora. A political rookie, he's financing at least the initial stages of his campaign.

Meanwhile, John Cox has been stumping throughout Illinois practically full time since last January. A Chicago attorney and investment adviser, Cox says he has put \$1.3 million of his own money into his bid. He welcomes the company of two main rivals because he believes that means some attention will be paid to the race, raising the profile of the eventual winner. He quickly challenged his opponents to debates. Cox lost a primary bid two years ago to represent Congress from the 10th District along Chicago's North Shore.

Unlike Cox and Oberweis, state Rep. Jim Durkin, a lawyer from suburban Westchester, does not have the spare cash to underwrite his campaign. But he does have seven successful brothers, and the large family will provide a financial

network to launch Durkin's bid. He decided to make the race in November, after Jack Ryan's flirtation with the Senate ended and he found himself thrown into a new legislative district with state Rep. Bob Biggins, an Elmhurst Republican.

Durkin, who co-chaired the Illinois presidential campaign of Arizona Republican Sen. John McCain, jumped in with the covert support of many GOP insiders.

Of these candidates, Jim Durkin is the only one who has proven he can win a political campaign and knows what he is doing, says Rich Williamson, who just stepped down as GOP state party chairman to join President George W. Bush's team at the United Nations. Durkin has the support of Sen. McCain, who has a national following.

"Oberweis is the largest question mark in the sense of how much he knows about running a campaign," Williamson says. "And Cox has run unsuccessfully for office. He has been working a long time, but he has not caught much enthusiasm. But Durkin is the best positioned."

None of the three have much statewide name recognition.

As for the issues, abortion and gun control divide and define these three Republicans. Cox and Durkin are against abortion, while Oberweis is generally supportive of abortion rights. On guns, Cox is a strict constructionist on the Second Amendment, and he has been appealing to gun owners throughout the state. Durkin's House track record earned him a "D" in 2000 from the Illinois Rifle Association, while Oberweis has a blank slate to fill.

Cox is the most conservative of the three, with Durkin and Oberweis competing for the moderate and most moderate label. And ideology can matter in Illinois Republican primaries. Illinois conservatives turn out more readily than moderates because they are more issue-oriented. And Republicans disagree more among themselves than Democrats. Look no further to illustrate this point than the Democratic field for governor, where the four main candidates are ideologically similar. Activists in the Republican Party make sure there is a candidate who reflects

their views if none bubbles up naturally.

When the right challenges the middle in Illinois primaries, recent history shows that lesser-known conservatives can prevail over moderates. In 1998, Peter Fitzgerald, then a state senator, defeated Republican Comptroller Loleta Didrickson in the primary (though it should be noted that she was heavily out-financed) and went on to defeat former U.S. Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun, a Democrat. In 1996, then-state Rep. Al Salvi, a conservative Republican from suburban Mundelein, upset Lt. Gov. Bob Kustra, a moderate. Salvi wasn't as fortunate as Fitzgerald; he was whipped by Durbin in the general election. And in 1986, former state Rep. Judy Koehler, a conservative from the west central town of Henry, became the party's nominee after tackling businessman George Ranney, the choice of establishment Republicans.

It's no coincidence that Cox is selling himself as an ideological heir to the former president who remains a hero to Illinois conservatives. "I'm the Ronald Reagan Republican in the race, the only one of the three who adheres to the Republican Party platform."

Indeed, all three candidates are attempting to tie their campaigns to star power.

Durkin will be able to associate himself with the popular McCain.

Oberweis, whose campaign logo features three cows and is similar to the dairy company's signage, is counting on leveraging his corporate identification. He's also dropping some big names. Oberweis says he was encouraged to get into the race by U.S. House Speaker Dennis Hastert, a Yorkville Republican, but he won't be able to take that to the bank because Hastert is not likely to embrace his constituent publicly. Hastert spokesman John McGovern says the speaker is not yet inclined to make an endorsement.

Oberweis will not concede Reagan to Cox, either. He touts former Reagan adviser Lyn Nofziger on his Web site, noting that the former Reagan press guru helped with his announcement speech. He doesn't mention that he paid for the help. Oberweis spokesman Don Walter, Nofziger's partner, says the team also signed up former Christian

Coalition chief Ralph Reed's firm to devise a strategy for appealing to religious conservatives.

"I am an entrepreneur, a businessman. I am not a professional politician," says Oberweis, who proved he was right when he had to scramble to recover from two early tenderfoot missteps. While discussing the abortion issue, Oberweis, citing the Taliban, said government should not impose religious beliefs on people. That remark got him in trouble with the religious right. A free-marketeer opposed to government subsidies, Oberweis also questioned the wisdom of tax breaks for ethanol. Ethanol is made from corn, a major crop in Illinois, and protection of the ethanol industry is a political given for the Illinois delegation in Washington. After getting some grief, Oberweis said "there may be good justification in this case" for that federal assistance.

Durbin, meanwhile, faces a nominal challenge in the primary. He has been raising money — he has stockpiled more than \$3 million and can tap his Senate friends, such as Majority Leader Tom Daschle of South Dakota, to help raise more. While on paper Durbin seems to be in good financial shape, he's been worried for months about how to confront a GOP challenger who can pour millions into his own race. It's unknown whether Oberweis and Cox have the financial ability or desire to pour millions into their political future.

"We are cautiously optimistic," says Michael Daly, Durbin's chief of staff, who will manage his re-election campaign.

Durbin also has some history on his side. Illinois voters have handed second terms to three of the last four senators who tried; Moseley-Braun lost, Democrats Paul Simon and Alan Dixon won as did Republican Charles Percy. Dixon and Percy lost on third-term bids.

Cox could be the easiest Republican to defeat, strategists say, because his views offer a stark contrast to Durbin's. "I think that Cox will win the primary at this point as filing takes place," Daly says.

Cox. Or Oberweis. Or Durkin. Soon, perhaps, to be household names. □

Lynn Sweet is the Washington bureau chief for the Chicago Sun-Times.

CHARTING SUCCESS?

Illinois has 23 charter schools this academic year, about half as many as authorized under state law. And even these schools will have to overcome a number of challenges if they are to survive

by Adriana Colindres

Students at Noble Street Charter High School in Chicago's West Town neighborhood know they'd better wear the right clothes to class. If they don't, it can cost them — literally.

Under the school's rules, all 365 students must wear khaki skirts or dress pants with a belt, dress shoes and a tucked-in polo-style shirt emblazoned with the Noble Street name. The shirts come in maroon, white and navy.

The dress code, like the overall school environment, is strict, says Principal Michael Milkie. Violate the code, and get a demerit. Get four demerits, and go to detention. "Let's say your shirt was untucked four days in a row," he says. "That would be a Saturday detention, which is three hours and \$5."

The \$5 penalty represents a substantial financial blow to the typical high school student, Milkie acknowledges. "That's the point. The kids don't break the rules that often because they don't want to pay that price."

The idea behind these tough rules, the dress code in particular, is to create a school culture that promotes discipline and learning among the racially diverse, mostly low-income student body. Eighty-three percent of Noble Street's students are Latino, 9 percent

are black and 8 percent are white. Eighty-five percent receive free or reduced-price lunches.

Through its small size and emphasis on rules, Noble Street, which is located in a gang-troubled neighborhood, has created a safe atmosphere for its students. And that's why Noble Street, which is in its third year of operation, has 350 families on its waiting list. "And we don't even scratch the surface on recruiting," Milkie says. "I mean, that's what families want."

But Noble Street, along with 22 other charter schools operating in Illinois this academic year, faces a number of challenges, including finding ways to improve students' academic performance.

Whether the charter schools can survive the challenges might be more apparent in the results of a formal three-year evaluation, which Western Michigan University is due to complete this June. And whether this educational experiment can expect additional support from the state's politicians might be more apparent this spring if the legislature again considers measures to provide capital funding.

Charter schools, which operate under agreements with nonprofit groups, are free to ignore many of the regulations that apply to other public

schools. Under an Illinois law enacted in 1996, each school makes its own decisions on hiring, curriculum and length of school year. The aim of this flexibility is to open the door to innovation. In exchange for the relative freedom, charter schools are expected to produce results.

Illinois is one of the more than 30 states that have authorized charter schools since 1992, when they first opened in Minnesota. Has this state's charter experiment, which has had schools operating in metropolitan Chicago, central Illinois and the East St. Louis region, worked? There's no simple answer.

The charters, running typically three to five years, are renewable. But so far, just one has been renewed: Fort Bowman Academy in Cahokia. Four schools are in their debut year.

Two charter schools, including the state's first, have closed. Peoria Alternative Charter School opened its doors in the 1996-97 academic year, shortly after enactment of the state law (see *Illinois Issues*, June 1997, page 32). The Peoria school, designed to educate sixth- through 12th-graders who had experienced disciplinary problems, served its three-year charter then ceased operating as a charter school. Instead, it became a "regional

safe school" serving students throughout Peoria County. Chicago Preparatory Charter High School closed halfway through the 1998-99 school year after facing administrative, financial and educational problems. The school's charter was terminated and its students were returned to traditional public schools.

No clear pattern has emerged in the performance of Illinois' charter schools. "Some are doing better than the state average on the [Illinois Standards Achievement] and [Prairie State Achievement Examination] tests. Some are not doing as well," says Janet Allison, the charter schools liaison at the Illinois State Board of Education. "Some are enrolling high numbers of low-income and at-risk students. Some are not. It's kind of a mixed bag."

The state board hired Western Michigan to provide some clarity. The study was designed to determine, among other things, whether charter schools have met their goals and what has been the effect of freedom from the restrictions faced by traditional schools.

In the meantime, it's already evident that, if they are to survive, charter schools will have to overcome hurdles. For some, a major hurdle will be meeting infrastructure needs, including fixing dilapidated facilities and finding more classroom space. At Springfield Ball Charter School, for instance, the student body no longer fits into just one building and six mobile units. This year, that school's fifth- and sixth-graders attended classes in the spare rooms of another Springfield school. Beyond that, there's been no decision on where the charter school's middle grades program will be housed when it opens next fall.

Because the Illinois charter schools law made no provision for facilities funding, the schools often are forced to rob their operating dollars to pay for capital improvements, says John Ayers, executive director of Leadership for Quality Education, a business-backed school reform group affiliated with the Civic Committee of Chicago. When traditional public schools have capital needs, they can seek a property

tax referendum; charters don't have that option.

Legislation that would have given each charter school a yearly capital-needs grant of \$1,000 per pupil passed the Illinois Senate last spring but stalled in the House. Ayers says getting enough lawmakers on board with the proposal was "problematic" because so many Illinois schools — not just charters — are in bad physical shape and could use extra money for capital needs. Still, Ayers says supporters of the plan likely will try again for passage this spring.

But resistance from local school districts presents a big hurdle. Though the Chicago Public Schools system has embraced charters — there are 15 in the city, the maximum authorized under state law — many other school districts see them as a threat or as competition, says Allison Jack, director of Leadership for Quality Education's charter school resource center in Chicago. "I don't think they're a threat. They provide examples of things that can work outside the system," she says.

State law allows for a maximum of 45 charters, split among three regions; nevertheless, only three charter schools are operating in the Chicago suburbs. There are five charter schools downstate.

For some of the schools, a main challenge lies in improving students' academic performance, particularly on standardized tests. Statistics compiled by the State Board of Education for its 2001 charter schools report show, for example, that 100 percent of the eighth-graders at Triumphant Charter Middle School on Chicago's South Side performed below math standards on the 2000 Illinois Standards Achievement Test. Meanwhile, 80 percent of eighth-graders in Chicago Public Schools performed below state standards on the same test.

But the data also show that 31 percent of eighth-graders at Chicago International Charter School, which has three South Side campuses and one in Chicago's near northwest Bucktown neighborhood, performed below state standards on the state

reading test. That's a better result than in the public schools, where 43 percent of Chicago eighth-graders performed below standards.

At Noble Street, it's too early to evaluate how well the students are doing compared with other Illinois students. The statewide Prairie State Achievement Examination is administered to high school juniors in the spring, and this is the first year that Noble Street has had a junior class.

But scores on citywide tests showed 25 percent of Noble Street's students reading at or above grade level last year, the school's second year in operation, while 50 percent of the students performed at or above grade level in math. That's better than other neighborhood schools in both categories, says Principal Milkie, but when compared with other schools in the city, Noble Street's math performance is better than average, while reading performance is worse than average.

"I don't think we've done as well academically as we have in terms of school culture. But that was our first choice, to make sure the school culture was right," he says. "In terms of [having] reading and writing skills where we would want them, I think we have a ways to go."

But he believes the strictness at the school enhances students' ability and willingness to learn. "It almost gives them the freedom to learn because they know there are boundaries," he says. "They look presentable, and so it's like: 'OK, now I don't have to make any decisions about behavior, so I might as well learn.'"

Not every Noble Street student adopts that attitude, Milkie admits. "Of the troublemakers who come, probably half straighten out and half leave because it's too strict for them. But you'd be surprised at how many straighten out."

The freedom to make individual decisions is Noble Street's strength, Milkie says. The bigger question is whether that determination will hold true for the charter school program as a whole. □

Adriana Colindres is a state Capitol-based reporter for Copley Illinois Newspapers.

Illinois Issues publisher takes a new position

Ed Wojcicki began new duties at the University of Illinois at Springfield as associate chancellor for constituent relations, a newly created post.

Wojcicki left his position as publisher of *Illinois Issues* magazine at the end of last month. UIS Chancellor Richard Ringeisen tapped him to serve as liaison with the University of Illinois Government Relations Office. He will advise the chancellor on matters relating to all branches of government, represent the chancellor on various university committees and coordinate responses to issues brought by students, parents and friends of the university.

Wojcicki has served as publisher of *Illinois Issues* for nearly a decade. He also was director of Institute Publications, a unit of the Institute for Public Affairs that publishes books and other materials for the Springfield campus.

Before coming to UIS in 1992, Wojcicki was editor of the *Catholic Times*, Diocese of Springfield.

During his tenure at *Illinois Issues*, he directed the Illinois Campaign Finance Project and the Illinois Civic Engagement Project.

A national search for a new publisher gets under way this month.

Schools chief lands post

Illinois State School Superintendent Glenn "Max" McGee will spend the next six months researching for the state the "achievement" gap between low-income and high-income school districts at Northern Illinois University's Center for Governmental Studies in DeKalb. On July 1, he becomes superintendent of Wilmette elementary schools. His state superintendent contract, which expired at the end of last year, was not renewed. Ernest Wish, formerly with Coopers & Lybrand accounting firm, will serve as interim superintendent until a permanent replacement for McGee is named, possibly this month.

State GOP's new leader faces challenges

Lee Daniels comes into the chairmanship of the Illinois Republican Party at a crucial moment for the GOP. The House minority leader, elected state party chair, faces a Democrat-drawn legislative map heading into the general election.

Republican leader in the House for the past 18 years, Daniels was first elected to the legislature in 1974. An ally of Gov. George Ryan, with whom he served in the House, Daniels has called for the party to be more inclusive, to appeal to a wider spectrum of voters.

Daniels had backed fellow DuPage County Republican Jim Ryan for governor, but the Elmhurst Republican stepped away from that endorsement when he took over party leadership.

He replaced Rich Williamson, who was named to a United Nations ambassadorship.

Illinois House has a new member

Jim Watson, a Jacksonville businessman, has been named to replace Republican Tom Ryder in the Illinois House. Ryder of Jerseyville stepped down to take a job at the Illinois Community College Board.

Watson, a former vice president of marketing for Wareco Services Inc., represents the 97th district, which includes Calhoun, Greene, Macoupin, Jersey and Morgan counties.

Change on the appellate bench

Thomas Appleton of Springfield began hearing cases last month in the Illinois Appellate Court for the Fourth Judicial District. The Illinois Supreme Court assigned Appleton to the appellate court on the recommendation of Justice Rita Garman, who held the assignment before she was appointed to the high court.

Judge Appleton has served on the circuit court in the Seventh Judicial Circuit in Springfield since his election to the bench in 1992.

Lawmaker moves to natural resources

State Rep. Andrea Moore, a Libertyville Republican, resigned the legislature after four and a half terms to become assistant director of the Illinois Department of Natural Resources. Gov. George Ryan's appointment, which requires state Senate confirmation, comes after he instituted a cost-saving hiring freeze.

GOODBYE OLIN

Noted wildlife artist Olin Harris died December 5 in his home in Springfield after a long battle with cancer.

A good friend and contributor to this magazine, he was an artist for the Illinois

Department of Natural Resources for 31 years and an adjunct professor in publication design at the University of Illinois at Springfield for 10 years. Olin was renowned for his illustrations of birds.

He designed and published a book, *An Artist's Book of Birds*, in 1996. Among the work he donated for free to *Illinois Issues* was the cover and the sketches for a feature on endangered species that appeared in the magazine's December 1995 arts issue.



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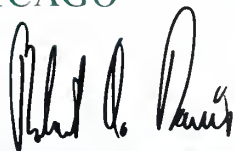
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In the days after the September 11 attacks, Chicago's problems mounted

by Robert Davis

When the twin towers of the World Trade Center turned to gravel at the hands of terrorists on September 11, New York City instantly became the ultimate symbol of urban America's woes. And, in the subsequent period of mourning, patriotism and rebuilding, New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani became "America's Mayor," his every move watched intently by much of the world and, in particular, every other American mayor.

Understandably, the problems of other cities, big and small, were dwarfed by those of the Big Apple, though the tentacles of terrorism gripped them in less dramatic ways.

And so it was in Chicago.

Even before the attacks, Mayor Richard Daley faced problems of his own. His normally compliant City Council appeared headed for a racially and ethnically motivated fracture over the ward remap. His plan to remodel aging Soldier Field suffered the scorn of lakefront lovers and architecture gurus. O'Hare International Airport was busting at the seams and Daley's expansion plans were vilified by critics in the Northwest region of the metropolitan area and third airport advocates in the southern region. And Chicago firefighters had launched a media-fueled campaign for a new, more generous contract.

In the days after the attacks, Chicago's

But, by year's end, the resilience of America, New York City and, yes, Chicago were on display.

go's problems mounted. Clearly, the heavy and unexpected costs of increased security were about to tax the city's budget and, eventually, its residents. With terrorism-sparked fear of flying spreading throughout the land, the question seemed to be not whether O'Hare should be expanded but whether it was necessary in its present form. The city's big development plans appeared to be on hold as tourism dollars dwindled, sales taxes dipped and employers laid off workers.

Adding insult to injury, Giuliani made news magazine covers as the model of an urban leader, while Daley appeared on the inside pages making goofy jokes about anthrax-laced guacamole and griping about the FBI.

But, by year's end, the resilience of America, New York City and, yes, Chicago were on display.

After weeks of political muscle-flexing, the City Council passed a new ward map by such a margin that a referendum was averted. Though a legal challenge by outside groups is

inevitable, it appears that bullet was dodged. And though, as in most compromises, nobody much likes the Soldier Field renovation plan, it appears to be a done deal, with construction set to begin after the Chicago Bears wrap up the football season.

Most surprising was the early December deal reached between Daley and lame duck Republican Gov. George Ryan on the long-disputed O'Hare expansion plan. Daley got virtually everything he wanted, including additional runways that Ryan had adamantly opposed. The mayor gave up, though possibly only for a few years, his plan to close Meigs Field, the lakefront airport he wants to turn into a park — a project the September 11 economic fallout had precluded in the near term anyway.

Daley got his airport project and Ryan got his legacy, though groundbreaking on the controversial south runway at O'Hare won't happen until 2011, when Daley is 69 and Ryan is, well, older than that.

The Chicago firefighters, their image bolstered by the actions of their New York counterparts, still don't have a contract, but they probably will soon.

Sears Tower, which seemed to have a bull's-eye on it in the days after the attacks, is in lockdown, but still standing as the tallest building in America. O'Hare is still one of the world's busiest airports, though the lines are moving a lot more slowly these days. Daley's 2002 budget is balanced, on paper at least, and once again zipped through the City Council.

Like America, like New York City, Chicago took a sucker punch, got up and dusted itself off, and did what it could to get back to normal. As normal as anything could ever be after September 11. As the year 2002 began, the view from Chicago looked pretty good again. □

Robert Davis, a lecturer at the University of Illinois at Chicago, covered Chicago politics for the Chicago Tribune for more than 30 years.

Charles N. Wheeler III



Golden parachutes and lumps of coal were among state budget adjustments

by Charles N. Wheeler III

Christmas came early last month for some of Illinois' public servants, with mixed results.

Two high-profile officials making career changes received handsome going away presents to help smooth their transitions. The beneficiaries of the holiday good will were outgoing state Schools Superintendent Glenn "Max" McGee and retiring state Rep. Andrea Moore, a Libertyville Republican.

McGee was given a six-month, \$125,000 consulting contract by the State Board of Education, the same folks who pushed him out the door last summer.

Moore, who announced she would not seek a fifth term as a \$66,000-a-year state representative, was named deputy director of the Illinois Department of Natural Resources, a \$96,000-a-year job that had been vacant since at least 1994.

Golden parachutes are neither new nor unique to Illinois, of course. But Santa was not so kind to many other public servants of the rank-and-file variety, nor to some of those who care for the state's less fortunate citizens. For them, the jolly old elf seemed more like Ebenezer Scrooge before Marley's visit, eyes firmly fixed on the bottom line. Written there, said Gov. George Ryan, was the need to cut state spending by some \$500 million this year to offset revenue shortfalls due to

The \$485 million in cuts were decried by union leaders, hospital administrators and social service advocates. In particular, critics found it outrageous to cut health care for the poor while ignoring lawmakers' pork barrel projects.

the September 11 terrorist attacks.

So among those getting lumps of coal in their stockings, figuratively speaking, were 60,000 state workers who were told they'd lose a day's pay to free up some \$8 million. Faring even worse were employees at the Joliet Correctional Center and at the Illinois Center for Rehabilitation and Education, both of which were being closed. Aides to civilly committed, mentally ill patients at the Elgin Mental Health Center and workers in food and housekeeping at all state mental health and correctional facilities also saw visions of pink slips, not sugar plums, at Yuletide. Closing the centers and cutting the programs should save about \$12 million, Ryan aides said, while

displaced workers would be offered other state jobs to avoid layoffs.

The axe fell most heavily, though, on the poor and the hospitals that care for them, after House Speaker Michael Madigan, a Chicago Democrat, refused to give Ryan authority to spread the pain more broadly. The governor cut payments to Medicaid hospitals by \$135 million and booted some 100,000 people from the state-federal health care program in hopes of saving another \$17 million. Those remaining were told to pay \$1 every time they go to the doctor, hospital or pharmacy.

Ryan also eliminated a planned \$16 million cost-of-living increase for social service providers, and halted work on an \$80-million genetic research facility at the University of Illinois. Funding was slashed as well for a host of other programs, ranging from violence prevention to museum grants.

The \$485 million in cuts were decried by union leaders, hospital administrators and social service advocates. In particular, critics found it outrageous to cut health care for the poor while ignoring lawmakers' pork barrel projects.

Ryan blamed the hospital-heavy cuts on lawmakers who refused to let him pare payments to other health care providers or to trim other programs.

The projects were spared, Ryan argued, because they are not being paid from the general revenue fund, the state account facing the shortfall, so "slicing any projects would not fill the budget hole," he wrote in a letter sent to editors statewide.

"It is my hope the media will do a better job over the next few months to explain why these spending cuts are necessary," he added, and "that other elected officials will resist the temptation to score cheap political points by condemning these budget-balancing actions without suggesting realistic alternatives."

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McGee was given a six-month, \$125,000 consulting contract by the State Board of Education, the same folks who pushed him out the door last summer.

Moore, who announced she would not seek a fifth term as a \$66,000-a-year state representative, was named deputy director of the Illinois Department of Natural Resources, a \$96,000-a-year job that had been vacant since at least 1994.

Golden parachutes are neither new nor unique to Illinois, of course. But Santa was not so kind to many other public servants of the rank-and-file variety, nor to some of those who care for the state's less fortunate citizens. For them, the jolly old elf seemed more like Ebenezer Scrooge before Marley's visit, eyes firmly fixed on the bottom line. Written there, said Gov. George Ryan, was the need to cut state spending by some \$500 million this year to offset revenue shortfalls due to

SOCIAL SERVICE ADVOCATES:

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the September 11 terrorist attacks.

So among those getting lumps of coal in their stockings, figuratively speaking, were 60,000 state workers who were told they'd lose a day's pay to free up some \$8 million. Faring even worse were employees at the Joliet Correctional Center and at the Illinois Center for Rehabilitation and Education, both of which were being closed. Aides to civilly committed, mentally ill patients at the Elgin Mental Health Center and workers in food and housekeeping at all state mental health and correctional facilities also saw visions of pink slips, not sugar plums, at Yuletide. Closing the centers and cutting the programs should save about \$12 million, Ryan aides said, while

from violence prevention to museum grants.

The \$485 million in cuts were decried by union leaders, hospital administrators and social service advocates. In particular, critics found it outrageous to cut health care for the poor while ignoring lawmakers' pork barrel projects.

Ryan blamed the hospital-heavy cuts on lawmakers who refused to let him pare payments to other health care providers or to trim other programs.

The projects were spared, Ryan argued, because they are not being paid from the general revenue fund, the state account facing the shortfall, so "slicing any projects would not fill the budget hole," he wrote in a letter sent to editors statewide.

"It is my hope the media will do a better job over the next few months to explain why these spending cuts are necessary," he added, and "that other elected officials will resist the temptation to score cheap political points by condemning these budget-balancing actions without suggesting realistic alternatives."

Ryan deserves some credit, of course, for biting the bullet while Madigan and other lawmakers sat on the sidelines, content to plan their campaigns while a governor who's not running takes the heat.

But the governor's version of events should be clarified on two points. First, the state's budget problems started long before September 11. Ryan and legislative leaders knowingly chose to build this year's budget on the rosiest revenue estimate available, despite warnings of a slowing economy. Tax receipts in July and August, the first two months of the current fiscal year, already were below projections. Spending, meanwhile, has grown steadily. Indeed, general funds spending outstripped revenues by some \$475 million for the fiscal year that ended last June 30, and a \$325 million drawdown already was projected for the current year last summer. So the state was in trouble long before the "post-September 11 world" that Ryan's aides like to cite.

And while the governor is technically

When lawmakers return to the Capitol this month, they'll have another chance to choose health care for poor people over pork barrel projects back home. The speaker and his colleagues should use it.

correct about funding for lawmakers' pet projects, the pork should not be given a blanket exemption. True, some building projects are underwritten by bond sales, which can't be diverted to shore up the general funds. Still, the budget has more than \$209 million in projects financed by the Fund for Illinois' Future, a special account fed with money from the general funds. As of mid-December, about \$139 million remained unspent, available for shift-

ing back into the general revenue fund, should lawmakers choose to do so.

The rub, of course, is that legislation is needed to use the pork money to restore some of the health care cuts. That would require cooperation from the same folks who stiffed the governor in November.

But even the go-it-alone cuts Ryan made won't produce \$485 million for the general funds without legislative assistance. The \$80 million set for the genetics institute is tobacco settlement money, for example, while tens of thousands of state workers facing furloughs are paid from special funds. Savings in those areas can get into the general funds only through legislation to make the transfers.

When lawmakers return to the Capitol this month, they'll have another chance to choose health care for poor people over pork barrel projects back home. The speaker and his colleagues should use it. □

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